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To

CARL NEWELL JACKSON

PREFATORY NOTE

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ROOT AND BASE IN INDO-EUROPEAN ¹

BY JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

IN 1915 and 1917 most European (and American) scholars were too much occupied with other matters to learn of B. Hrozný's momentous announcements made at that time, or to pay much attention to them if they did learn of them. Not yet have the events of the last four years stilled the domestic galimatias that pass for argument in some of the theorizing that Hrozný's famous discovery has evoked over the past quarter of a century. But they have prevented ² criticism of a serious and important work published late in 1939 as "une contribution scientifique personnelle" on the occasion of the abortive Brussels linguistic congress. Van Langenhove's *Essais de Linguistique Indo-Européenne* (Linguistische Studiën II) deserves a better fate than to be ignored by our philological journals, insensate as he must be who can swallow their contents whole at any time, or even piece-meal at an hour like this. It is a work devoted essentially to the presentation of "une théorie de la racine" in Indo-European, or rather in "pré-indo-européen," more philosophic in temper than Benveniste's *Origines* with its well-known theory.

In the present paper I shall use the terms *root* and *base* as defined in my previous paper, *H.S.C.P.* LII, 1941, 125-137.^{2 bis} Base, there-

¹ A paper read, with some unimportant omissions, before the Harvard Philological Club on 10th January 1942.

² Almost completely, but not quite. The review in *C.W.* 35, no. 13, 9 Feb. 1942, 149 f. appeared only long after my paper was written. Its author rejects not only Benveniste's theory of the Indo-European base (root), but also the entire hypothesis of Indo-European laryngeal consonants (known in some quarters, in which the use of English might be improved, as the "laryngeal hypothesis," which can only mean a hypothesis pertaining to the larynx). That view would, of course, consign "Indo-Hittite" to limbo.

[Add now (Jan. 1943) the review by L. H. Gray, *A.J.Ph.*, LXIV, 1943, 115-117.]

^{2 bis} It is encouraging to find that the neurologists regard the theory of thalamo-cortical circulation as attractive (see e.g. Cobb, *Borderlands*, 1943, pp. 95, 98).

fore, means simply an observed unit of partial or complete resemblances between the most ancient ("restored") forms of the several recorded or historic Indo-European languages, and written as formulas designed to express such resemblances (the "reconstructed" bases of Indo-European). Such a unit may or may not be meaningful; we have no means of knowing, for we have no text written in Indo-European, and without such texts we are unable to say whether or not a given base has meaning, or what its meaning is. Theoretically, some Indo-European bases may have been meaningful. If they were, such bases were also roots; that is to say, an Indo-European root is an observed unit of partial or complete resemblances between "reconstructed" Indo-European forms (not the "restored" forms of Indo-European languages) *together with its accompanying meaning*. The value of such a unit is, however, purely theoretical except in the field of semantics, and precisely nil in the description of Indo-European, for the reason already stated: we cannot know when a base is also a root, failing the resurrection of a speaker of "Indo-European" or the discovery of a large body of continuous "Indo-European" texts.

Thus it is held ³ that in English *hammer*, *rudder*, *spider*, there is, on analysis, an affix *-er* and the bases *hamm-* [ham-], *rudd-* [rʌd-], *spid-* [spaid-]. But no speaker of English would recognize in these bases the meanings, or any part of the meanings, of the words *hammer*, *rudder*, *spider*; whereas in *leader* and the like we have the affix *-er*, and, morphologically speaking, the base *lead-*, or, semantically speaking, the root *lead-* (the meaning "conduct, guide, induce, etc." being included). Even when we are able to assert that root and base are identical in shape, as in modern English *lead-*, I speak of base, not root, for morphological purposes; root, that is, always implies meaning.

Benveniste now admits, apparently in the same sense as Marouzeau,⁴ a distinction between *radical* and *racine*. In Indo-European

³ Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 240, where what I call base is called root. The term root as there defined does not of course correspond to *racine* of French usage, and the French *radical* is not recognized at all, being in fact superfluous. Accordingly I differ from Bloomfield here only in terminology.

⁴ *Lexique de terminologie linguistique*, s.v.

"la seule réalité sensible est celle du radical" (*Réponses, Suite*, p. 5), which is not the same as *racine* or "root." Thus, there is a radical element in such a series of words as the Latin *figo*, *figura*, *figulus*, *fictus*, *finco*, *effigies* — "élément commun dégagé spontanément de la comparaison d'une série de mots apparentés et qui porte l'idée commune à tous ces mots" (Marouzeau) — but which, when identified, does not bring us at once to the "racine" (no matter whether we accept the orthodox **dheigh-*, or proceed to a further analysis into base [racine] and suffixed, or infixed, element, according to the new theories), for "la racine . . . est inapparente et de structure indiscernable en indo-européen" (Benveniste, *l.c.* — he really means in the several Indo-European languages, not in Indo-European itself, where, if it were actually "indiscernable" we could not, of course, discern it, which is just what Benveniste claims to do, and not only to discern but even to define its fixed pattern). But such a distinction is completely useless for Benveniste's purposes, whatever value it may have, and that appears to me to be little, in synchronic (descriptive) grammar; even within that restricted scope its usefulness is limited, for it leads nowhere. It is, in fact, necessary to begin any descriptive linguistic analysis from phonetic form, not from meaning. In descriptive grammar *radical* does not actually mean anything different from what *racine* means in comparative Indo-European grammar, and nothing is gained by making a distinction that in practice means nothing.

On the contrary, a start made from meaning, which has been the traditional practice in defining "root" and apparently is the practice now of the French school (and, for that matter, of the German school, too) is demonstrably dubious both in theory and in application in mere descriptive method, or, at the very most, of limited value if not actually misleading in its results. But meaning cannot be ignored, *pace* Bloomfield, when we come to comparative method. Meaning and form are every whit as indispensable criteria, in judging the correctness of etymology, as phonological correspondence itself. For, to repeat, I do not understand how it can possibly be maintained that roots are observed units of partial resemblance between words in Indo-European, which is what Bloomfield's definition demands, since no Indo-European words are available for observa-

tion. Hence the necessity for setting up the term base and for distinguishing base from root.

Moreover, the distinction between *racine* and *radical* vanishes completely and invariably so soon as cognate words are introduced from more than one language of the Indo-European group. On the other hand it is expected of us to use this same term, *racine*, in dealing with any one, or more than one, of the languages also of the Semitic group, even though it is "constamment apparente et identique au mot." The definition of *racine* proposed by van Langenhove,⁵ not, I suppose, intended to be limited to Indo-European in its application, likewise lays stress on semantic content. "Nous appelons *racine* le signifiant" (sign, symbol) "dont le signifié (referend,⁶ meaning) "est l'idée dynamique." I shall have occasion to discuss this definition below, and here it is necessary merely to remark, not only the importance which it attaches to the content of meaning, but, in the same breath, also the principle, on which van Langenhove quite properly insists, that in the study of a morphological problem "la recherche diachronique" must always be ready to admit the presence of "l'acte-non-significative" (pp. 129 ff.), no less than structural or descriptive phonetics (phonematics) must always be ready to admit the presence of "le son non-phonème" (pp. 98 ff.).

In fact van Langenhove seems to have succeeded in pushing the analysis of some Indo-European bases ("racines"), even of the pattern *CvC* (i.e. consonant + vowel + consonant), e.g. **uer-*, **ger-*, **gher-*, **der-*, **dher-*, **per-*, **bher-*, to the point at which there is revealed not a base at all, but two bases: "Quant aux rapports entre **k₂er-* 'bruit, cri' et **ɔ_xer-* 'son, cri, etc.,' ils sont aussi frappants que décisifs. La comparaison ne s'établit pas entre deux termes pris isolément ou arbitrairement, mais entre diverses séries, dont celle constituée par **uer-* . . . etc. en face du simple **ɔ_xer-*. Aussi en tire-t-on la conclusion, imposée par l'examen corrélatif des données indo-européennes, qu'en réalité on ne se trouve pas devant des racines simples dont les états I seraient **k₂er-*, **uer-*, **ger-*, **gher-* etc., mais devant la racine **ɔ_xer-* apparemment déterminée par les préfixes variés

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁶ Popular writers on semantics prefer "referent," a preference which reveals a curious insensibility to solecism.

**k*₂-, **u*-, **g*-, **gh*-, etc., ayant chacun une valeur propre, car chacun d'eux s'avère être à l'origine une racine au degré zéro" (p. 87).

Now quite apart from all consideration of the question whether this formulation of van Langenhove's which I have just quoted, and which he develops at great length with ample illustration and wealth of carefully analyzed examples is valid in detail, the principle on which it rests makes necessary more than ever a distinction between *root* and *base*; for the prospect now emerges clearly that what hitherto has been believed to be a root, significant both semantically and morphologically, will turn out, morphologically considered, to be a base, which in its turn may have been evolved by the juxtaposition of two independent (i.e. not cognate) elements, either or both of which may theoretically at least, be held to have been originally in any such instance, either (*a*) base or (*b*) simply a root (semantically but not morphologically significant, at least within the range of the Indo-European languages). Thus the application of van Langenhove's theories might lead us to the assumption, for theoretical purposes, of elements the existence of which even in the most ancient Indo-European, or in pre-Indo-European, would be theoretical only, without even so much as a single one simple disconnected derivative extant or quotable. Such would be the so-called prefix *s*- (στέγος: τέγος) or the *u*- and *d*- postulated by Möller and Cuny respectively, and in such might lie the explanation of the origin of initial alternations like *su*:- *s*- (reflexive *ōs* from **suos* : *sibi*, O.L. reflexive *sīs*, *sās*; or the numeral *žē*, Lac. *féē*, Av. *xšvaš*, W. *chwech* from **suēks*: *sex*, Skt. *ṣaṣ*, Goth. *saihs*, Lith. *šeši* from **seks*) and *tu*- : *t*- (Hom. σείω from **tuē-siō*: Dor. gen. *τέος* from **te*-, with the termination of consonant-stems *-os*; Skt. *tvákṣati*, *tvāṣṭṛ*: *takṣati*, *takṣan*, Gr. τέκτων, Lat. *texere*). If *s*- etc. are remnants of independent roots, then those roots have left no other discovered, perhaps no discoverable, remains. But the extant forms demand a distinction not only between that form of the base which shows *s*- etc. from that which does not; but also between both of them and the constituent root or roots which they contain or imply. Accordingly I shall use the term *base* whenever morphological analysis is the subject of discussion.

From the moment that the cuneiform texts from Boghazköi were deciphered Indo-Europeanists have had before them a mass of linguistic phenomena which they must one way or another accommodate to the known facts of Indo-European grammar which they previously commanded. Even the extraordinary and rather bewildering system of cuneiform writing, complicated by the use of ideograms (represented in the texts by Sumerian words), of determinatives or classifiers, of Akkadian words (often to be read as Hittite), all in addition to Hittite words, and of various combinations of these different orthographic devices, did not for long conceal the general Indo-European character of the texts. Significant items of Indo-European vocabulary and morphology manifested themselves, even to the most casual observer, in documents not only of a date much earlier than any other original text in any Indo-European language, but also some centuries before the date commonly assigned to the composition of the *Iliad*, and not later than acceptable estimates of the date of composition of the oldest hymns of the *Rgveda*.

Yet the language of the Hittite cuneiform texts shows such marked discrepancies from well-established correspondences between the hitherto known Indo-European languages as to force upon us the question whether or not Hittite, judged on the same criteria as they, is entitled to the name Indo-European. Does it reveal to us a form of speech, somewhere between a pre-Indo-European language and pre-dialectal Indo-European, that is an ancient stage, more remote in character than the so-called "parent" or "pro-ethnic" Indo-European,⁷ and derived from a language anterior to it? Or is Hittite to be compared with the Indo-European languages, all more or less on the same footing? In the one event, Hittite will have preserved archaisms, everywhere else lost — a contention difficult, if not impossible of proof, as Pedersen justly insists, pointing out that only innovations common to *all* the surviving Indo-European languages (Hittite being excluded) can separate them from Hittite in such a way as to put them into one class by themselves (Tocharish being included) and Hittite into another. Deviations in Hittite, he cor-

⁷ I have abandoned these terms in favor of the strictly linguistic term "pre-dialectal Indo-European," which must not be confused with "pre-Indo-European."

rectly maintains, prove nothing; innovations of Hittite, or the loss of old features either in Hittite or in the recognized Indo-European languages, in themselves have no weight.⁸ It is just, however, to observe that all such features would immediately become very weighty, once the prior requirement should be fulfilled. We must be quite sure, for example, whether Hittite in fact has or has not a neuter plural identical with the Indo-European \bar{a} -stem.

In the other event, Hittite will show extensive innovations of its own, either by loss or by addition, or by both, which will distinguish it among Indo-European languages, but not remove it from the Indo-European group, or even separate it from them as being itself pre-Indo-European or at least older than pre-dialectal Indo-European. But in either event the comparison of Hittite in all its features (vocabulary, accident, phonology, syntax) with the corresponding features of Indo-European, it is now universally admitted, is no longer at the stage of a "working hypothesis," but is a scientifically demonstrated fact. For this reason an answer to the question of relationship has become urgent. The easy way out of the difficulty, still viewed with favor by some investigators, namely the assumption of linguistic mixture in order to explain the peculiar features of Hittite, fails in the present state of knowledge (or rather ignorance) for want of sustaining evidence. It is not, however, definitely excluded and should not be forgotten.

To this vexed question, as also to the question of the laryngeal consonants of pre-dialectal Indo-European, the existence of which the Hittite evidence has demonstrated, I propose to return in later papers. Suffice it here, first, to say of the term "Indo-Hittite" that it cannot mean what its proponent intends it to mean (viz. pre-Indo-European), but only Indic together with Hittite (cf. Indo-Iranian, i.e. Indic and Iranian together), which would seem to elevate Indic to the position of Indo-European, lending countenance to an old error, long since detected and disproved; and, second, to add, what I judge some of us to have forgotten, some to suppress, and the rest never to have known, the fact that the entire hypothesis, so stubbornly

⁸ Holger Pedersen, *Hittitische und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, 25.2, 1938), pp. 12-13.

maintained from partial, nor it convincing, evidence, the theory that is which sets Hittite in the sharpest contrast with all the other Indo-European languages, claiming as archaisms such peculiarities as the absence of the feminine gender, the lack of \bar{a} -stems, the fragmentary inflexion of the plural in nouns, the absence of the demonstrative pronominal *to*-stem, and, in particular, the presence and frequency of an *h*-sound, to which at first there appeared to be no regular Indo-European counterpart (let that "at first" sound a warning), is neither original with its present adherents, nor for that matter accepted, at least in the form in which they now state it, either by the original proponents of the theory or by competent independent critics in general. The oft-repeated statement of the theory in cisatlantic publications,⁹ as if it were no theory, and a doubtful one at that, but as a demonstrated and proven fact, is, to put it moderately, made not altogether without equivocation. It was a misfortune that the Hittite grammar compiled by the late Walter Petersen, which might have opened the eyes of those who read only English, was denied publication, and the alternative theory (of Petersen and of others) at the same time denied a hearing; for that is the theory which commands the support, with hardly more than one exception, of all students of Hittite who have considered the question unfettered by authority or adherence to a school.

But it makes no great difference to many problems of Indo-European itself that Hittite evidence has re-opened. The interpretation of Hittite documents, on what is now a reasonably sure basis, has led not only to vast changes in our picture of Indo-European in general, and in particular to a complete remaking of many of our notions about Indo-European ablaut, about the Indo-European phonological system, about prothetic vowels in Greek and Armenian, about the nature of the Greek initial smooth breathing, which was something other than the mere absence of the rough breathing; it has led also to new and exciting theories concerning the make-up of Indo-European bases, and even to new theories concerning the problem of the root in general, in all to stirrings more important than any that

⁹ Most recently in an extraordinary work, with a still more extraordinary title, *Literary Scholarship* (what is that?), published at Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941 (by N. Foerster and others).

have occurred since the days of the "Jung-grammatiker." It is with the problem of root and base in Indo-European that this paper is concerned.

With certain well-known and definitely limited exceptions, both root and base are grammatical abstractions, just as much as the other grammatical abstractions with which linguists operate. Hence, the test of any theoretical exposition of bases in a given language or family of languages must be made empiric. Does it work? It used to appear, before Hittite was known or understood, that Hirt's theories met this test reasonably well; and it now appears, since Hittite has been added to our sources of knowledge, that Benveniste's theory has many advantages. But at this point other precautions must be taken. The vocabulary of Hittite is still something of a wilderness. The number of etymologies of Hittite words that can be deemed entirely satisfactory is not large. More disturbing than that obstacle, which certainly will be removed in time, is the serious difficulty that, beginning with Hirt's, every theory of root or base in Indo-European, including the most recent, that of van Langenhove, is not merely highly schematic — that is inevitable from the nature of the case — but also completely or almost completely silent in the matter of phonetic elucidation.

It ought not to be necessary to observe, it is scarcely decent to be obliged to observe, in this present year of grace, that such theoretical assumptions should be grounded at the very least on phonetic possibility, and preferably on phonetic probability. What was a serious defect in Hirt has become, despite the magnificent opportunity open to the writers, a horror and a nightmare in some of the articles welcomed into the pages of *Language*. Indeed none of the successors to the school of thought founded on the famous *Mémoire* of de Saussure are wholly exempt from the charge made by St. Paul: "every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation," but "he that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself." Cuny and Kuryłowicz pepper their pages with equations without regard, at least without any that appears on the surface, for phonetic interpretation. This practice, added to the shaky foundation of many of the etymologies upon which the equations rest, hardly inspires confidence. The four laryngeals assumed

for Indo-European by Cuny and Kuryłowicz, and for "Indo-Hittite" by Professor Sturtevant, leave much to faith. They call, in fact, for incontestable proof of the most positive kind when we are told that, as such, admittedly two of them have vanished from Hittite and all four from all other Indo-European languages. It is as if we were asked to take it on faith that Spanish say, or any other of the Romance languages, has not in any shape a phenomenon which all other Romance languages have not in any shape and which Latin has not, but which an unrecorded Italic must have had, and in a shape which our theorists can define down to the last detail. But what I protest against here is the introduction of algebraic formulae which defy pronunciation: specimens may be seen in *Language* 12, 1936, 180 and 15, 1939, 181 (e.g. **esx̣ṇx̣ḳru*, in which ' is a "glottal stop with fronted timbre" and *x̣* a velar voiceless spirant).

These protests made, I pass to my proper subject and begin with a brief historical survey. Something like the notion of a monosyllabic base may be found in Philoxenus,¹⁰ but the idea of a root as it appears in the writings of the early Indo-Europeanists, Bopp and the rest, had come to them from Arabic and Hebrew grammar through the medium of eighteenth-century speculation about the nature and origin of language. It was greatly strengthened and both in principle and in many details influenced by the doctrine of roots which had been developed independently, so far as we know, by Hindu grammarians, so soon as their doctrine became known to western scholars. The term *base* was used first by Fick in 1881.¹¹ The method of Hindu grammar, however, was devised for the purposes of enumerating Sanskrit roots and of describing the processes by which stems and complete words are to be derived from them. This is far from being the object of comparative Indo-European grammar. As for the concept of roots set up for the description of the Semitic languages, it is enough simply to reflect on the enormous differences in structure between Arabic and English to realize the absurdity of transferring, even descriptively, any theory concerning the constituents of words from the study of one language or group of languages to that of another on the assumption that its scientific value will be the same for

¹⁰ Cf. Delbrück, *Einleitung*, ed. 5, 1919, p. 18; cf. pp. 26-29, 65, and 167-170.

¹¹ *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 1427.

both, and in addition remain unimpaired for the needs of historical and comparative grammar. Clearly such a theory must at least be modified to meet the different conditions of different languages or of different periods in the history of one of the same language, and there is at least one type of linguistic structure, exemplified by Chinese, in which the theory would appear to be entirely supervacaneous.

Notwithstanding these facts the theory of roots was gaily applied by Bopp and his successors to the comparative study of Indo-European languages, and the astonishing thing is that it yielded results of the greatest possible interest and value. And despite the seeming inconsistency of the phenomena under consideration there has been a marked tendency in recent theory to apply analytical methods that presuppose such an entity as root or base, on the one hand to the formulation of a system of structural linguistics which is essentially descriptive, and on the other to speculations concerning the origin and evolution of language. Yet, again, the astonishing thing is that Benveniste has succeeded in deducing logically from the Indo-European evidence alone a theory of word-formation, to be described presently, which argues an extraordinary similarity of pattern between Semitic roots and Indo-European bases! Is this merely a coincidental similarity, since (according to Benveniste) a Semitic root is an actuality, the Indo-European an abstraction? In the former we are concerned with what has been called "*une réalité vivante*," in the other a reconstruction. Or is there a historical relationship between the two? These are questions to which no fitting answer can yet be vouchsafed.

So long, however, as Bopp's doctrines of Indo-European roots, or the modifications of them proposed by his successors, were dominant, no such resemblances between Indo-European and Semitic roots were apparent, and any suggested relation between Indo-European and Semitic was generally agreed to be somewhat less than hypothetical. All that was to come later. Meanwhile philologists tended to take Indo-European roots for granted, leaving them where Bopp had left them, or even to forget about them altogether when they came to abjure Bopp's views. For de Saussure's novel theories, promulgated chiefly by Meillet in France, but rather discredited in Germany, where Hirt's were widely accepted, did nothing to en-

courage a unified doctrine, some superficial resemblances between Hirt's and de Saussure's systems notwithstanding — notably in the setting up of dissyllabic bases.¹² In fact Benveniste's statements, which are in large part anticipated in Meillet's chapter on the form of bases, have been criticized severely by adherents of traditional German doctrine (for example, by Debrunner). The mere possibility, however, of the occurrence of dissyllabic bases would a priori imply a great gulf between any language showing them and Semitic, even when every allowance is made for the fact that the Semitic languages are much closer to one another in their historical relationships than the Indo-European languages are. But this fact gains in importance if pre-dialectal Indo-European had triconsonantal bases, that is insofar as the differences between the historic recorded languages would be more adventitious than fundamental, being due to later development and greater differentiation in Indo-European as compared with Semitic languages.

What, then, has accomplished such a revolution? It is no novelty to see in Sanskrit futures in *-iṣya-* (e.g., *kariṣyāmi*, viz. in the *sēt-* roots of the native grammarians), or aorists in *-iṣ-* (e.g. *ābhōdiṣam*) Indo-European dissyllabic bases which had *ə* in the reduced form of the second syllable. So long as *ə* was regarded as a vowel, there was no resemblance between such dissyllabic bases and the triconsonantal roots of Semitic. But a few scholars, led by de Saussure, had maintained, contrary to the commonly accepted theory, that the relation between Indo-European long vowels in the normal grade and *ə* in the reduced grade was not to be explained on the hypothesis that *ā^x* (N) is weakened to *ə* (R), but that a short vowel contracted with *ə* to produce *ā^x* and that this short vowel is lost in the reduced grade, leaving simply *ə*.

Now so soon as the study of Hittite had passed beyond its initial stages it was seen not only that de Saussure was right, but also that *ə* must be regarded as a consonant, to be identified with the *h* of Hittite which it had proved at first difficult and finally impossible to explain by any other hypothesis, for example by derivation from

¹² Cf. Hirt, *Idg. Grammatik*, II, p. 107; Meillet, *Introduction*, ed. 5, pp. 142 ff. The contribution of H. Möller in *Englische Studien* III, 1880, p. 151 in n. 1 should not be overlooked.

Indo-European s , \hat{k} , \hat{g} , $\hat{g}h$ and so forth. Cuny and Kuryłowicz, and independently also Cuvreur, reached the conclusion that Hittite h has no consonantal representative in the other Indo-European languages (in which a is vocalized, Indo-Iran. i , elsewhere a), but corresponds to the phoneme or phonemes postulated by de Saussure in 1878. Both Cuny and H. Möller already, long before the discovery of Hittite, had not been slow to relate the phonemes of de Saussure's scheme to the laryngeals found in Semitic languages, and to raise anew the question of a common origin of Semitic and Indo-European. In fact that was the question with which Möller was chiefly concerned, and, until the discovery of Hittite, Cuny also. Everybody else ignored the whole matter, with the exception that is of Pedersen, who in his large comparative grammar of Keltic¹³ followed the lead of his countryman Möller, much to the perplexity of readers trained in orthodox doctrine. Many must still remember how odd, if not impossible, his exposition of ablaut seemed the first time they read it. Even so late as 1937 Pedersen and Lewis, in their concise Keltic grammar, decided not to trouble beginners with it, and Brugmann in the *Grundriss* so good as omitted all mention of de Saussure's views.

Given the pattern $plə$, $\hat{g}nə$ in Indo-European, where it is far from rare, a partial correspondence between this type of Indo-European bases and Semitic roots might be urged. But here an important qualification must be made, one that seriously impairs the argument. In most, if not all, of the Semitic languages, metathesis¹⁴ of laryngeal and sonant occurs so frequently that it is difficult to show what the original order must have been, but in Indo-European there can be no question that the order consonant plus nasal or liquid plus laryngeal is both a frequent and a stable arrangement. On the other hand, if we are to regard an Indo-European base of the type CvC (i.e. consonant plus vowel plus consonant) plus a suffix of the type vC as essentially a vocalized root CCC (e.g. $*ur\hat{g}$, in which r is a consonant), the correspondence between Indo-European and Semitic will be so much the more nearly complete. Moreover, on this theory, the doctrine of "root-determinatives," which has always seemed for many

¹³ I, pp. 173-181.

¹⁴ See Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. der semitischen Sprachen* I, 1908, pp. 267-278.

reasons inadequate to thoughtful Indo-Europeanists, and which, insofar as it added considerably to the number of biconsonantal roots assumed for Indo-European, made all comparison with Semitic even more partial and remote, despite the possibility, doubtful and perhaps superfluous as it was for Hamitic as well as Semitic, of assuming monosyllabic roots as a stage of development anterior to triconsonantal roots, is once and for all ejected.

But it is time to indicate, at least in summary, the theory of Benveniste (1935) to which the newer knowledge had led and which in its turn has evoked so much discussion and speculation. According to this theory:

1. The base in Indo-European was monosyllabic and trilateral, of the pattern *CvC* (in which the vowel is regularly *ě*), e.g. *ǵeu*.

2. In *CvC* the consonants may be of any order, provided that the two orders differ, i.e. *kel* occurs, but not, for example, *kek* or *lel*; except that both breathed stop and voiced aspirate do not occur together, i.e. *ghebh-*, but not *kebh-* or *ghep-*.

3. Combined with a suffix (*vC*), e.g. *ǵeu-eg*, a base appears in one of two alternative forms, thus:

(a) with normal grade (accented), the suffix then showing the vanishing grade, e.g. *ǵéug* (*ξεύγος*),¹⁵ or

(b) with vanishing grade, the suffix then showing the normal grade (accented), e.g. *ǵuég* (*yunákti*).

4. To the suffix (3) may be added a single "extension" (*élargissement*), either appended to the suffix of the base (a), e.g. *ǵéug^e/os-* (*ξεύγους*, *iouxmentom*), or inserted (infix) between the "radical" and the suffix (b), e.g. *ǵu-n-ég-* (*yunákti*). Cf., from *per-ek-*, *prék-s-* (*prakṣ-*), or *prék-sk-* (*prcchati*); similarly *ter-eH-* (*treH₂-*: *trāns*,

¹⁵ In passing I remark that the Greek *ξ* in *ξεύγος* etc. is now explained by van Langenhove (p. 8, where, in line 1 of §13⁴, for *ξ* read *ζ*) as invoked by a vanished laryngeal (**ǵ₂-*). Something of the sort had been attempted by Sapir in *Language* 14, 1938, p. 272. Both must have been writing about the same time. But this remains hypothetical, for there is no Hittite cognate with *h*; it was that variety of laryngeal, we are to suppose, that disappeared from Hittite as well as from all other Indo-European languages. And Sapir's statement, at least, would be inconsistent with Benveniste's theory of the Indo-European root which adherents of the "laryngeal hypothesis" in general accept.

intrāre, cf. Hittite *tarḫ-*), or *pel-eH-* (*pleH₁-*: *plēnus*, *πλήθω*, in which note the aspirated *θ*).

5. The supplementary addition of a further suffix or extension to such a stem gives a stem invariably and solely substantival, e.g. *scindo*: *scissum* as contrasted with *posco*, *poposci*: —.

6. Alternative forms of base, with or without *s-* prefixed to the initial consonant, which otherwise must be a single consonant, occur; hence *στέγος* beside *τέγος*.¹⁶ Benveniste has more recently shown that no Indo-European base began with initial *r-*; where such appears to be the case, we have actually the vanishing grade of *ṛer-*, i.e. *ṛr-* (Greek *ῥρ-*, elsewhere *r-*).

Clearly such a theory as this could never have been formulated without the Hittite cognates of such forms as the other Indo-European languages show for Greek *ἔστί* etc., Latin *ago*, etc., *edo*, etc., which appeared to imply bases that must have had an initial vowel, not an initial consonant. But Hittite *ešzi* 'is' cf. *ἔστί* beside *ašanzi* 'they are' *ἔσσι* shows that the base was properly *H₁es-*, *H₁* being lost in Hittite before a vowel, as in 3 sg., but becoming *a* before a consonant, as in 3 pl. (**H₁sonti*). Hence are postulated such bases as *H₁ed-* 'eat,' *H₂eg-* 'drive,' exactly like *sed-*, *teg-* etc., which fit the assumed pattern.

About the same time Kuryłowicz was formulating his theories, published in the same year as Benveniste's (1935). Kuryłowicz, after declaring that in a given linguistic system, only a semantic definition of a root is possible, and that it will resist further analysis (e.g. *medhú-*, *oui-*, *uert-*), went on to set up a phonetic definition for Indo-European, viz. a base has (1) initially a consonant or group of consonants, (2) medially the fundamental vowel, and (3) finally a consonant or group of consonants. Such a statement is evidently more flexible than Benveniste's, without being incompatible with it. It is evident too, as several scholars observed simultaneously, that the basic vowel *e*, since it does not stand in alternation with any other vowel, was not distinctive; but rather was subject to certain combinatory changes, of which some became phonematic and hence gave rise to "ablaut" by setting up a contrast between *e:o:-* and the like.

¹⁶ As we shall see below, other alternatives as well as *s-* must be admitted. Cf. p. 5 above (*y-*, *d-*) and n. 15 (laryngeal).

As long ago as 1912 Cuny had observed that, granted that ə (A, H) is a consonant, then *all* the vowels of Indo-European fall within the recognized pattern $\check{e}:\check{o}:-$ of Indo-European ablaut, for the three varieties of ə will be responsible for the variety of vowels e, o, a imparted by the neighboring consonantal ə . Thus the speculations of de Saussure, Möller, and Cuny, combined with the obsolescent theory of "determinatives," which was now accommodated to the newly discovered laryngeal consonants, paved the way for Kuryłowicz and Benveniste.

But the very regularity of Benveniste's scheme is *eo ipso* repugnant to many scholars trained in the tradition of Brugmann, old dogs unwilling to learn new tricks. Debrunner, for example, who is in agreement with most adherents of the German school in this matter, in lengthy reviews of Benveniste's and Kuryłowicz's books,¹⁷ suspects a theory so schematic and questions whether its postulates can have any existence in reality. He asks, with some justification, why we should not keep, for example, the traditional form of base *bheud-* rather than set up *bheu-ed-* since *bhyed-* does not occur, and similarly *klep-*, not *kel-ep-*, since *kelp-* does not occur. Again, *uer-eĝ-* involves a difficulty of syllabic division in Indo-European. Some other details also Debrunner finds unconvincing.

At all events it does not appear to be necessary to assume, as some have done, that pre-dialectal Indo-European was characterized by a very large number of monosyllabic or extremely short words, which must have comprised an unusually large number of pairs (or groups) of homonyms. This view has been held in its most extreme form by Cuny, but even he would admit that the mere fact of the occurrence of reduplication, of various suffixes, extensions, prefixes, infixes and alternants (both in vowels and in consonants) must have diminished greatly the actual number of monosyllabic or short words as well as of homonyms.¹⁸ In marked contrast with the theory of bases and suffixes stands the explanation of some formative elements and terminations as having arisen from longer, or more or less flexible, units by the process of adaptation or extraction. Advocated by Morris and Oertel¹⁹ among others (e.g. Jespersen, M. Bloomfield), this explana-

¹⁷ *I. F.* 55, 1937, pp. 314-318; 56, 1938, pp. 55 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 19 below.

¹⁹ *H.S.C.P.* XVI, 1905, 63-122.

tion has never found much favor. In fact, its application is extremely limited; for, as was pointed out at once, adaptation, while admittedly a possibility, was never actually realized, or at least cannot be shown to have been realized, save in a very few instances. The whole theory of anterior long forms breaks down for sheer lack of evidence, not to mention proof. And only a minority of forms are to be explained by the process of back-formation (retroformates), which is essentially a mere variety of analogy.

No wonder if Hirt's theory of dissyllabic and trisyllabic bases seemed preferable to these conjectures, and also to the vague notion of root-determinatives; especially since Hirt insisted that the so-called "thematic" vowel (e.g. in **leiq̣u^e/o-*) was not thematic at all, but basic. Clearly Hirt's conception of this vowel cannot be accommodated to Benveniste's theories, though the latter's view that the "thematic" vowel is necessarily an element added to an older consonantal stem raises at least as many difficulties as his general theory resolves and leaves us still asking precisely what the thematic vowel was and whence it came. Is it to be viewed as entirely similar to a suffix containing a consonant or consisting solely of consonants? Is **leiq̣u^e/o-*, for example, a formation absolutely parallel to **per-eḳ^e-sḳ^e-?*

As for vocalic alternation (ablaut), despite Benveniste's denials, it still seems to be the best explanation to regard at least that variety of alternation called gradation (as distinguished from deflexion) as not merely linked with variation of accent but as actually caused by such variation, inasmuch as variation in the place of accent may itself be phonematic (and then, later on, the consequent reduction or loss of vowels). Moreover, and this has long been realized, gradation is inexplicable except through the comparison of polysyllabic forms one with another, not through the comparison of one syllable with another syllable. Nor does Benveniste's theory of the base totally exclude the possibility that deflexion, being secondary, was due to variations in pitch, whether in the word or in the phrase. But it does not follow, as maintained by Ribezzo, that palatalization and sibilization in the *satəm*-languages must have occurred at a date earlier than deflexion itself. The treatment of labiovelars is clear proof to the contrary, unless, with Kuryłowicz, we believe that labiovelar consonants

arose in the *centum*-languages from velars followed by a palatal vowel, so that *νίξω* or *ῥοσε*, for example, would not have lost a labial element but would never have even developed it, a view which Debrunner has stigmatized as unconvincing. But is it? If *o* in alternation with *e* is everywhere secondary, then the development of labiovelars in the *centum*-languages may also well be secondary and the facts of sibilization in the *satəm*-languages still find their explanation through palatalized consonants before front vowels in an ancient stratum of forms. Difficulties arise here from the fact that there is some evidence to suggest that sibilization was late and in part independent in the several *satəm*-languages.

But in recent years we have learned to attach greater importance than formerly to alternations that appear also in consonants (e.g. *p*: *ph*: *b*: *bh*), especially at the end of a base, whether or not, as is now being maintained, on somewhat scanty evidence, that such alternations are due to the proximity, in pre-dialectal Indo-European, of a laryngeal consonant;²⁰ cf. *ῥμβρος*: *ἀφρός*, *ego*: *aham*, *bibo*: *píbatí*: *πίνω*, *πῶθι*: *pípafo*, *uiuidus*: *jīváttha-s*, *σχίζω*: *scindo*, *ἱππότης*: *ašvathá-s*, *πῆθ(ι)ví*, *πλάθανον*: *πλατεία*. Theoretically at least, it would seem that where such variation occurs, a variation between short and long vowels in ablaut ought also to be forthcoming. This is a matter that calls for further investigation.

As to Meillet's doctrine, accepted also by Benveniste (see p. 14), that a base may not show both breathed stop and voiced aspirate (nor both begin and end with identical consonants), Cuny is surely right in arguing that in Indo-European (as in Berber) the actual state of affairs may have come about through assimilation in the one case, through dissimilation in the other, so that the prohibited types may have existed at a more remote period.

All this, together with the occurrence of single prefixed consonants (notably *s*-, but also *u*- and *d*-, and such alternations as *t*:- *t_u*-, *s*:- *s_u*-) and of infixes (-*n*-, and perhaps also -*i*- and -*u*-), manifestly must modify greatly our conceptions of the morphologic pattern of bases in Indo-European. But van Langenhove seeks to reach a definition that is at once morphologic and semantic. It is, however, not enough to regard the semantic aspect of roots as merely

²⁰ As to that we may justly call for relevant Hittite evidence.

bound up with derivation; it is bound up with the very nature of language, that is the conventional character of meaning conveyed through words. From this point of view the question of priority between noun and verb is idle. It was held in the early days of Indo-European studies that the verb came first; Hirt maintained, on the contrary, that the noun came first. But it is probable that they are contemporaneous, even that the same forms had both substantival and verbal functions (which is the normal state of affairs, for example, in Chinese), especially since in a certain number of forms the base might be identical with the word. We have noted already Benveniste's observation that base plus suffix plus extension plus another suffix or extension invariably produces in Indo-European a stem that is substantival and substantival only. Others have observed that verbal stems arise in a variety of fashions, e.g. from nouns (denominatives), as well as by means of suffixes and extension.

It remains to ask whether such suffixes and extensions are originally morphematic, a question which at once reminds us of Bopp's theories of predicative and deictic "roots," and brings us to a review of van Langenhove's book. It is not to be doubted that if ever they were morphematic, then their meaning has faded and in a majority of them disappeared altogether. Cuny has suggested that such fading was both natural and inevitable as the meanings of the several elements, substantival or verbal in function, became fused into a single unit of meaning: "Si, en indo-européen . . . le sens des 'déterminatifs,' anciens morphèmes, est si peu net dans les 'racines' verbales qui se les sont incorporés, . . . c'est que ce sens s'est naturellement effacé lors du passage graduel du thème à valeur nominale dont ils parachevaient la forme, à la fonction de thème verbale ou, si l'on veut, de verbe dénominatif."²¹ Cuny, however, thinks of suffixes as having been mere classifiers or empty words, not entire words. In this matter van Langenhove's elaborate etymological researches are important. But it is astonishing how closely in their essence, though not in detail, Bopp's theories are being revived.

In passing we may observe that Planert²² had succeeded in making out a case for analyzing *pel-ek*: *bhel-ek* and the like into *lek-*

²¹ *Études prégrammaticales*, 278.

²² *Réponses* pp. 22-24; cf. van Langenhove, p. 87.

with a labial prefix, comparable with similar dental and guttural prefixes that he sought to identify in other forms; and, on the basis of this analysis, in discovering a certain ground for comparison between Indo-European and other families of languages. But his views demand much fuller statement and justification before they can carry conviction. In any event they differ markedly from van Langenhove's conception of juxtaposed ancient monosyllabic biliteral bases. But as van Langenhove recalls (pp. 121, 137), we are reminded, in some features of the "laryngeal hypothesis" (initial ə-) of Siever's observations concerning initial "sons pressés." The convergence of so many different observations, made from different points of view, is, at the very least, impressive, and ought to lead to a theory of Indo-European bases that will be generally acceptable.

It is difficult to do justice to van Langenhove's elaborate and intricate studies, in which hazardous problems, both semantic and morphologic, of the greatest difficulty are raised, and solutions of the greatest ingenuity proposed. Much in these solutions is necessarily conjectural, but repeatedly van Langenhove comes near, perhaps as near as is possible in dealing with a stage of Indo-European so remote and completely unattested, to proof. But grave doubts remain. When analysis reaches the point at which we are confronted by some ten or eleven Indo-European bases $\text{ə}_x\text{é}u-$, not all of them certainly differentiated by the variety of laryngeal involved (van Langenhove, pp. 10-11), but showing a great diversity of meaning; when we are told (p. 47) that many of these are not homophones but true identities; when we reflect upon the great number of alternatives provided by variations of ablaut, consonantal alternation, and suffixes (pp. 38-41), and on the complexities created by alternations between palatal and velar consonants; it is evident that the further analysis proceeds the more dangerous becomes the similarity which monosyllabic bases assume. In such a stage of Indo-European how could the highly differentiated nervous response in which meaning consists, be established at all, or, when established, survive?

Yet it is upon the identification of such units, by means of linguistic analysis, that van Langenhove's definition of *racine*, and indeed his entire theory depends. This theory, as is repeatedly apparent (e.g. pp. 44, 61, 87, 88, 143), requires the analysis of what would com-

monly be accepted as a base, into two anterior bases: "Derrière le type structural si singulier de la dérivation par suffixation et élargissement que représentent les langues indo-européennes, se cache un type beaucoup plus banal, mais sans doute aussi plus ancien: *celui de la composition au moyen de deux thèmes-racines*. Il importe de reconnaître ces composés et d'en discerner les thèmes composants. Ceux-ci, en effet, relèvent du plus vieux fonds indo-européen."²³ The consistency and thoroughness with which this statement is defended, through a maze of etymological minutiae, make it the essence of van Langenhove's *Essais*, and of far greater importance than his definition of *racine* quoted above on p. 4. It is a book to be read and pondered, and its theories are not to be dismissed without careful thought.

One example will suffice to illustrate van Langenhove's method. Starting with the Gothic *brup* (Matth. 10.35) he leads us through seventeen pages of etymological argument to the juxtaposition of two Indo-European bases *bhér-* and *ə₂éu-* combined, in the shape **bhrə₂uə₂tí-*, with the suffix *-tí-*, and meaning "celle qui porte (est chargée de) la force vitale, animatrice." But the number of such etymologies which he offers, or at any rate the number of Indo-European bases deduced from them, is not very large. They are only a beginning. Many more words, far more, must, on analysis, yield the same type of bases before van Langenhove's theory commands assent. I am reminded of a caution uttered fifty years ago by Darbishire,²⁴ when it was much less urgent than it is today.

"After all" he wrote "the number of spoken sounds to be given with certainty to the parent language is limited: not many 'roots' contain more

²³ Van Langenhove, p. 63. The italics are mine. In n. 2 on that page (as well as on p. 79), for *Zeús* read *Zeús*. P. xiii (s.v. Holder), for 2 vol. 1896, read 3 vol. 1896-1913. xv (s.v. Henning), for *Rumendenkmäler* read *Runendenkmäler*. xvi (s.v. Gordon), for R.K. read E.V. P. 13, for Lidell read Liddell. P. 87, par. 11 1.2. after *décisifs* read a full point for the comma. 94, par. 10 1.5 for *significants-idée* read *significants-idées*. 144, for *πῦρός* read *πῦρός*. But misprints are far and few between, and, apart from the unhappy *Zeús*, trifling.

One other criticism: I must confess myself incompetent to pronounce van Langenhove's reconstruction of the original form of *κυάρη*, viz. **ə₂kə₂uə₂reə₂* (p. 143).

²⁴ *Reliquiae Philologicae*, p. 175.

than three sounds; and hence we find that the forms which we are compelled to postulate as primary for widely differing ideas, assume, as we go back, a more and more dangerous similarity of form.

"When the vowel of a root may assume six different forms, if not more, when the distinction between velar and palatal gutturals is no longer absolute, when mediae and mediae aspiratae may alternate in a root, it is hardly to be wondered at if surprising results are to be achieved by the aid of any two dictionaries.

"The analytical methods claimed and received credit for their rigidity: by elaboration this rigidity has been practically nullified, and we now look for some external standard by which they may be controlled.

"There are two departments of the science [of linguistics] which may thus be employed: they are morphology and semasiology."

It may be admitted, however, that van Langenhove has not neglected this principle. It is, indeed, the careful attention that he has given to semantic relationships that distinguishes van Langenhove's work from Benveniste's and makes it to that extent superior. Both his and Benveniste's writing of Indo-European bases are highly schematic; but van Langenhove's approach is the more philosophic, as will appear from these two quotations, with which I end (pp. 145, 149).

Il paraît naturel d'admettre que les unilitères complexes ainsi que les bilitères simples ou complexes reflètent le plus vieux fonds de l'indo-européen. Ils ne laissent pas analyser. Certains faits permettent toutefois de penser que placés dans la diachronie les bilitères complexes tout comme les trilitères simples étaient à un moment donné des trilitères complexes ou des quadrilitères. Ce serait le cas par exemple de **bhr-* (= $\partial_x bh + \partial_r-$) dans **bhr-\partial_{\text{st}}u-\partial_{\text{st}}t-* etc.

Les trilitères sont sans doute moins anciens que les bilitères. Certains s'interprètent soit comme des bilitères avec l'adjonction d'un acte d'appoint (formations analogiques), soit comme des composés anciens devenus immotivés. Les trilitères complexes, ainsi que des quadrilitères simples ou complexes apparaissent comme des formations de date récente. En principe ils sont toujours motivés.

La création du son phonème voyelle et son emploi comme phonème singulatif ont été décisifs pour l'organisation de la langue indo-européenne commune.

Le morphème singulatif **e* donne forme à l'opposition entre ce qu'on appelle communément l'aspect objectif et l'aspect subjectif. Son absence caractérise le premier, sa présence caractérise le second. Mais son existence y provoque une nouvelle différenciation. Elle conduit à opposer à l'intérieur

du système subjectif d'une part l'animé à l'inanimé, d'autre part l'action dynamique (systèmes du présent) à l'action statique. Allant même plus loin, elle occasionne à l'intérieur de l'animé l'opposition entre le féminin et le masculin, et à l'intérieur de l'action statique l'opposition entre le fait comme tel et le fait comme aboutissement d'un devenir, c'est à dire entre ce qui en indo-européen dialectal est exprimé respectivement par l'aoriste et le parfait.

All this some will consider to be the merest glottogonic speculation; to others it will be clear that a few steps have been taken further into that no-man's land which stretches back into the remote past far beyond the date of even the oldest preserved of any of the records yet known to us of any subdivision of that variety of human speech that we still use.

NOTE. *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* of E. H. Sturtevant (1942) appeared too late for me to deal with it in this paper. — May 1943.

DRAMATIC AND ETHICAL MOTIVES IN

THE AGAMEMNON

BY WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

THE *Oresteia* contains two dramas: first, the external fortunes of Agamemnon and his family; and, behind this drama, the vindication of the moral law of fate, exhibited in the action and interpreted by the Chorus. The several parts of the action are linked by many devices and figures which serve as reminders or anticipations of earlier or of later action. Thus toward the end of the *Agamemnon* the Chorus cry: "Who may cast forth from the house the curse of the race?" The question is partly answered in the action of the *Choephoroi*, which in turn, however, ends with a question: "How can the wind of *Ate* be lulled to sleep and stilled?" This question finds its answer in the *Eumenides*.¹ When Clytaemnestra, years after the murder of Agamemnon, is told that "the dead are slaying the living," and realizes that her own death is at hand, she calls defiantly, "Give me the murdering axe!"² By "the dead" she probably understands Orestes, whose pretended death has been reported; but it applies as well to Agamemnon, who, though dead, is mighty yet; and by referring to the ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν Clytaemnestra may mean the very axe with which she once slew Agamemnon. After the death of Clytaemnestra, Orestes brings forth the very robe, blood-stained, in which his father was entangled and slain; the sight of it arouses the onset of his madness and his vision of the Erinyes which closes the *Choephoroi* and which leads directly to the opening of the *Eumenides*.

A recurrent figure is the "net" motive. Over the towers of Troy was thrown "a close net, so that neither full-grown nor young could escape the great net of slavery of all-conquering *Ate*."³ The wounds that Agamemnon is reported to have received, complains Clytaem-

¹ Ag. 1565; *Choeph.* 1075f.

² *Choeph.* 885-889.

³ Ag. 357-361; cf. 822f.

nestra, are as many as a net has holes.⁴ Again, the toils that implicate Agamemnon and Cassandra are described with a dozen ingenious variations of vocabulary, but always with the idea of a hunter's net that snares its victim; this figure enhances the sense of impending doom, or recalls us to the horror of its accomplishment.⁵

Even more striking is the repeated identification of the poet's characters with animals, somewhat in the manner of the beast-fable in which each beast is supposed to act "in character."⁶ But since Aeschylus is dealing in part with shifting materials, in which the slayer will presently be slain, the spoiler spoiled, we shall not be surprised if the figures also shift. To the Chorus of the *Agamemnon* the sons of Atreus appear to be eagles defending their robbed eyrie;⁷ but Calchas has already seen an omen of their lot, in which good is crossed with evil, in the pair of eagles that impiously rent a hare with her unborn brood.⁸ They see in Paris a lion's whelp, dangerous when full grown;⁹ to Cassandra, a lion is Aegisthus, too, but a cowardly, lurking lion,¹⁰ while Clytaemnestra is a foul hound, or a serpent, or a Scylla;¹¹ or again a lioness, couched with a wolf (Aegisthus),¹² while her true mate, Agamemnon, is a noble lion.¹³ In Aegisthus, strutting and bragging after the death of Agamemnon, the Chorus see the cock

⁴ *Ag.* 264-268.

⁵ *Ag.* 1048; 1091; 1115f; 1375; 1382; 1492; 1580; 1604; 1611; *Choeph.* 492; 494; 557; 981-991; *Eum.* 460; 632-635.

⁶ For a few examples of such use of beasts in earlier Greek poetry, cf. the similes in *Il.* XVI, 823 (Hector, lion); XVII, 657, 674 (Menelaus, lion, also eagle); XX, 164 (Achilles, lion); XI, 548-562 (Ajax, lion, also donkey); XVII, 755-757 (Achaeans before Aeneas and Hector, as starlings or daws before falcon); VI, 344 (Helen, dog); the beast-fables in Hesiod, *W. D.* 202-211 (hawk and nightingale); Archilochus 89-94 Diehl (fox and eagle); Semonides of Amorgus 7 Diehl (women compared with animals).

⁷ *Ag.* 49-59.

⁸ *Ag.* 108-157.

⁹ *Ag.* 717-736.

¹⁰ *Ag.* 1224f.

¹¹ *Ag.* 1228-1238; cf. *Choeph.* 1047 (Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus are two serpents).

¹² *Ag.* 1258f.

¹³ *Ag.* 1259; Agamemnon himself has compared the Greek warriors with a leaping lion, 827; cf. also *Choeph.* 938, of Orestes and Pylades.

beside his mate;¹⁴ again, Agamemnon has been caught in a spider's web.¹⁵ Orestes thinks of himself and Electra as the orphaned brood of an eagle whom a serpent has done to death;¹⁶ and their spirit, inherited from Clytaemnestra, is wolfish;¹⁷ the vision of Clytaemnestra, as Orestes perceives, makes of himself a vengeful serpent.¹⁸

By considering the ethical coloring of these figures we have already passed from the external drama of the *Oresteia* to the drama of moral forces that lies behind it, with its tangled skein of fate, good, and evil. The choral songs of the trilogy, and to a less extent the speeches of the characters, hold before the audience this moral pattern. Though the richness of the thought and imagery causes the pattern to reveal itself in a thousand figures and colors and modes, as in modern music, it is nevertheless possible to reduce it to a few very simple and well-defined motives which constantly recur.¹⁹ Sometimes the thought is reduced to gnomic directness.²⁰ Sometimes, indeed, a motive is not to be sought so much in the words spoken as in the ironical bearing of a speech or situation. Moreover, the "good" will sometimes be the real good, envisaged by the Chorus, by the audience, by all men of good will; sometimes it will be the partial or perverted "good" of an evil or misguided individual.

With these qualifications, the chief motives of the *Agamemnon* may be abstracted and schematized somewhat as follows:

A. "Fate is being (has been, will be) accomplished." (This is a neutral fate or necessity (*ananke*), not qualified as either good or evil. E.g. *Ag.* 67f: *ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν | ἔστι τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον.*)

B. "All is well; I rejoice." (A major mode, emotional, rather than ethical. E.g. 22-39; 503-545.)

B¹. "The good (*Dike*) prevails." (Again a major mode, but with ethical interpretation. E.g. 355-428.)

¹⁴ *Ag.* 1671.

¹⁵ *Ag.* 1492.

¹⁶ *Choeph.* 246-263; cf. 501.

¹⁷ *Choeph.* 421f.

¹⁸ *Choeph.* 523-550; cf. 928f; 1002.

¹⁹ Cf. J. W. Pugsley, "The Fate Motive and Its Echoes in the *Oresteia*," *T. A. P. A. LX* (1929), pp. 38-47, calling attention to the dactylic phrases employed to express the motive; the material is drawn chiefly from the *Eumenides*.

²⁰ Cf. J. T. Stickney, *Les Sentences dans la Poésie Grecque*, Paris, 1903, pp. 177-188.

C. "I lament the evil fate that has befallen." (A minor mode, emotional and ethical. E.g. 1-21; 1489-1496.)

C¹. "Some evil is afoot." (E.g. 975-1034.) "Beware of *hybris* (or of *phthonos*).'" (E.g. 131-145; 914-949.) (Minor, ethical; boding, or warning.)

D. "The good will prevail, in spite of evil." (Major; ethical; affirmative. E.g. 160-183; 1178-1330.)

D¹. "May the good prevail, in spite of evil." (Major; ethical; optative. E.g. 121: *αἶλιον αἶλιον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω*; 248-257.)

The *Agamemnon* may be analyzed, somewhat in the manner of a symphony, with an ear given to these motives. Needless to say, a jejune analysis of any great work of art is no substitute for the living work itself, and the present experiment in analysis is offered only as a help in disclosing a single aspect of the thought of Aeschylus.

ANALYSIS

PROLOGOS. *Watchman*.

C 1-21 "I lament my own troubles (1-21), and those of the house (19; cf. 36-39).
B 22-39 Joy! the beacon fire!"

PARODOS. *Chorus*.

A 40-82 "The Trojan war is running its allotted course. (68: *τελείται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον*.)

D¹ 83-103 What mean these altar fires, Clytaemnestra? Is there hope to lighten our sorrow?

A 104-130 The omen of the eagles and the hare interpreted by Calchas is being fulfilled. (130: *Μοῖρα*.)

D¹ 121 (= 139) Sing woe, sing woe, but may the good prevail!"

C¹ 131-145 The warning of Calchas against *ἄγα θεόθεν*, for Artemis is *ἐπίφθονος* (133f; cf. 138); hence the omen brings both good and evil (145; the evil is the death of Iphigenia).

D¹ 146-150 Calchas prayed for the release of the ships;

C¹ 151-155 but Artemis craves a second sacrifice [i.e. Ag.].

D¹ 156-159 So Calchas warned of fateful evil, amid good.

D 160-183 "Zeus brings good out of evil, teaching the truth of *πάθει μάθος* (177; cf. 250-252)."

A 184-247 So Agamemnon, warned by Calchas, bent before *τύχη* (187); caught between two evils, obedience and disobedience (206f), he bowed to *ἀνάγκη*

- (218), and steeled himself (224: ἔτλα) to slay Iphigenia.
 D¹ 248-257 "May all this be for the best; may *Dike* bring wisdom to suffering." (Cf. 215, Ag.'s prayer.)

FIRST EPISODE. *Clytaemnestra and Coryphaeus.*

- B 258-337 *Coryphaeus*: "What news?" *Clytaemnestra*: "Good! Troy is taken." The beacon fires; the taken city.
 C¹ 338-348 *Clytaemnestra*: "If the captors have committed *hybris*, the tables may be turned on them." (Cf. *Pers.* 807-815.—N.b. Ag. 346: the equivocal ὁλωλότων; Clyt. means Iphigenia.)
 D¹ 349-350 "But may the good prevail!"

FIRST STASIMON. *Chorus.*

- B¹ 351-428 Thanks to Zeus for victory, vengeance on Paris and his *Koros* (382), result of *Peitho*, child of *Ate*; Paris betrayed hospitality, and stole Helen, to the grief of Menelaus;
 C¹ 429-474 but all Greece suffers, and resents the war. "Too long has injustice triumphed; the Erinyes and Zeus will strike; beware of *olbos* that brings *phthonos*; may I be neither a sacker of cities [like Ag.] nor a captive."

SECOND EPISODE. *Coryphaeus and Herald (and Clytaemnestra).*

- D¹ 475-502 *Coryphaeus*: "Is the news of the beacon true? Let us *hope* that yonder herald brings good news."
 B 503-545 *Herald*: "Greetings to Argos! Let Argos greet Agamemnon (524), sacker of Troy (525), happy man (530), and avenger of the guilt of Paris, whose city has paid double (533: τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον; cf. *Choeph.* 313)." (N.b. expressions of joy, greeting, hope: 505, 508, 524, 538, 539, 572; cf. 498, 587, 602, 647, 1395; expressions of light, 504, 508, 519, 520, 522, 575; cf. 22-24; 28, 602, 1507.)
 C¹ 546-550 *Coryphaeus* dispirited, but reticent.
 D 551-586 *Herald*: "Life contains evil, as well as good; why dwell on the evil? Victory overbalances hardships."
 B 587-614 *Clytaemnestra*: "Joy; sacrifice; welcome my honored husband; I have been loyal."
 C¹ 615f *Coryphaeus*, to Herald: "That was a specious boast; beware!"
 B 617-680 *Herald*: The Storm. "But Agamemnon was saved by some god (663) and τύχη σωτήρ (669). Let us hope for the best (679)."

SECOND STASIMON. *Chorus.*

B¹ 681-781 Helen, a Hell, a κῆδος (699, both "bride" and "bane") for Troy; Paris, a lion's cub, now a divine minister of destruction (735); Helen, an Erinys sent by Zeus to widow brides (748f). Theme universalized: there is an ancient saying that *olbos* breeds woe. Nay! rather does impiety. "Hoary *hybris* in due season breeds new *hybris*; while *Dike* shines in humble cottages, honors the righteous, guides all to the goal."

THIRD EPISODE. *Coryphaeus and Agamemnon (and Clytaemnestra).*

B; C¹ 783-804 *Coryphaeus*: Guarded greetings to Agamemnon; true feeling should be discernible. "Once we thought you a bad pilot, condemning Greeks to die for Helen;

D¹; C¹ 805-809 Now we loyally pray for the best, — but beware!"

B¹ 810-829 *Agamemnon*: thanks partly to the gods, *Dike* has been visited on Troy;

C¹ 830-844 Warning acknowledged [but point missed]; "*Phthonos* against the fortunate is common (832-837);

D 844-850 I will deal with it;

D¹ 851-854 I pray that all may be well";

B 855-858 *Clytaemnestra*: her fulsome greeting to Agamemnon;

C 858-886 her grief in separation;

B 887-903 her relief on his return;

C¹ 904 *phthonos* deprecated.

D¹; C¹ 905-913 The crimson tapestry, to be spread that all may be well [and Ag. may commit *hybris*]; and *dike* may bring Ag. home.

C¹ 914-949 *Agamemnon*: *Phthonos* of the tapestry shunned (921; cf. 916; 927), and *hybris* almost avoided; but scruples overruled; Agamemnon yields, deprecating *phthonos* (947),

C¹ 950-957 but commits new *hybris* in flaunting Cassandra before his wife.

D¹ 958-974 *Clytaemnestra* smothers Agamemnon in fulsome welcome: "May Zeus the consummator fulfil my prayers!"

THIRD STASIMON. *Chorus.*

C¹ 975-1034 Vague premonitions; fear; "my heart sings the dirge of Erinys. Insatiate cravings bring doom (1001-

1005). Jettison cargo, save ship; save seed, avoid famine; but spilled life-blood cannot be recalled (1008-1024; cf. *Choeph.* 48; 66-79; *Eum.* 647-651). If I did not feel that there is a controlling fate (*μοῖρα*) behind the doom that I fear for Agamemnon, I should intervene to save him; as it is, I am baffled (1025-1034)."

FOURTH EPISODE. *Clytaemnestra, Coryphaeus, Cassandra.*

- A 1035-1071 *Clytaemnestra* bids *Cassandra* enter the palace; no response. *Coryphaeus*: "Cass. is caught in the toils of fate (1048)."
- C; C¹ 1072-1177 *Cassandra*'s visions of woes, past, present and future.
- D 1178-1330 "But vengeance is at hand" (1279-1285); meanwhile there is *tlemosyne*; "I will die bravely" (1286-1326); and there is pity for man, whose lot is parlous (1327-1330).
- C¹ 1331-1342 *Coryphaeus*: "Yea; man is never sated by prosperity, never forewarned; Agamemnon has won a glorious victory, thanks to the gods (1335f); but if he is fated to atone for past blood-shed, who can boast of friendly gods (1338-1342)?"
- A 1343-1371 Murder of Agamemnon heard, not seen; debate of chorus.
- B 1372-1394 *Clytaemnestra* boasts of the murder; rejoices (1391; 1394; cf. 1387);
- B¹ 1395-1406 and justifies it.
- C¹ 1407-1411 *Coryphaeus*: How could *Clytaemnestra* thus bring the curses of the land and exile on herself?
- B¹ 1412-1425 *Clytaemnestra*: "You presume to judge; I will justify myself (1412; 1421; cf. 1406; 911). Why did you not thus judge and exile Agamemnon when he slew *Iphigenia*? I defy you, and will abide by the issue; but you will learn by suffering (1424f)."
- D 1426-1430 Counter-defiance of *Coryphaeus*: *Clytaemnestra* must (1429; *χρη*) be smitten as she smote.
- B¹ 1431-1447 *Clytaemnestra*: "The sanction (*θέμις*) of my oath is the *Dike* of my child, now made perfect, and *Ate*, and *Erinyes*. I fear not, thanks to *Aegisthus*, light of my hearth. And *Cassandra*, who has sung her swan song (1444), paramour of Agamemnon and of every sailor, is dead."

KOMMOS. *Chorus and Clytaemnestra.*

- C 1448-1461 *Chorus*: "Would I were dead, now that my lord is

- dead, slain for a woman's sake, and by a woman. Helen's infatuation has flowered in this crime. Surely Eris was rooted in this house."
- B¹ 1462-1467 *Clytaemnestra*: "Pray not for death, nor blame Helen."
- C 1468-1474 *Chorus*: "Thou *daimon*, ruinous, exultant, like an exultant raven!"
- B¹ 1475-1480 *Clytaemnestra*: "Yea! *daimon* of the race indeed (1477: δαίμονα γέννης); thence comes lust for blood, begetting new blood-shed before the old is healed."
- C 1481-1488 *Chorus*: "Yea! a grim *daimon*. Yet all comes from Zeus."
- 1489-1496 "But my king is dead in a spider's web (1492)."
- (= 1513-1520)
- B¹ 1497-1504 *Clytaemnestra*: "Blame not me; I am but the old grim Alastor (1501), in form of a woman, avenging the slain children [of Thyestes]."
- C 1505-1520 *Chorus*: "You blameless (ἀναιτίος)? Perchance the *alastor* of a father (1507: πατρόθεν) might prove to be your abettor (1507f: συλλήπτωρ), and children's blood claims new blood shed." 1513-1520 = 1489-1496.
- B¹ 1523-1529 *Clytaemnestra*: "Agamemnon deserved his death through the *Ate* (1523) that he brought into the house by killing Iphigenia." (With 1527: ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχω, and 1529: τίσας ἄπερ ἤρξεν, cf. 1562-1564, and *Choeph.* 313f: δράσαντι παθεῖν.)
- C 1530-1550 *Chorus*: "I am baffled. Fate (*Moirā*, 1536) whets justice (*Dike* 1535) on one whetstone after another of ruin. Would I were dead! Who dare bury Agamemnon? Not you, his murderer."
- B¹ 1551-1559 *Clytaemnestra*: "Yes, I, but with no mourner, — except Iphigenia, who will greet him below!"
- A 1560-1566 *Chorus*: "Reproach meets reproach; it is a matter hard to decide. The spoiler is despoiled; the slayer pays his penance. The law of Zeus is that the doer must suffer (1564: παθεῖν τὸν ἔργατα). How can the curse of the house be cast off? The race is ensnared in *Ate*."
- A; B 1567-1576 *Clytaemnestra*: "True! Let by-gones be by-gones!" (Cf. 1406: τὰδ' ὧδ' ἔχει, and 1654-1661; 1672f).

EXODOS. *Aegisthus, Coryphaeus, Clytaemnestra.*

B¹ 1577-1611 *Aegisthus*: "Joyous day of justice! (1577: δικηφόρον; cf. 1604: δίκαιος; 1607, 1611, δίκη). Now I believe the gods *do* regard men's woes, seeing [Agamemnon] in the woven garments of the Erinyes (1580), having atoned for his father's deed." (Thyestean banquet, 1583-1602; Aegisthus claims credit for this vengeance, 1604, 1608; cf. 1636f.)

C¹; D 1612-1671 *Coryphaeus*: "What *hybris*! But, since you claim credit, you shall suffer the stoned curses of the people." (1616; cf. 1409). Threats of Aegisthus; counter-threats of Coryphaeus: "Orestes will avenge!" (1646; 1667)

A; B 1654-

1660; 1672f

Clytaemnestra: "Enough! This ends the necessary bloodshed."

THE CULT OF ATHENA PALLENIS

(ATHENAEUS VI 234-235)

BY ROBERT SCHLAIFER

AMONG the public cults of Athens, that of Athena Pallenis occupies a special place and merits particular attention, for its organization is remarkably archaic, and the information concerning it is ample enough to throw light on institutions otherwise almost unknown.¹ The curious religious officials known as parasites are said to have been attached to many cults, but in this case alone are their functions described. This cult was the concern of a league of neighboring communities, and while the existence of several other leagues of this sort is reported, this is the only one besides the Tetrapolis and the Tetracomí whose activities are known. The peculiar interest of this league is heightened, moreover, by an essential difference between its cult and those of the Tetrapolis: the latter remained at all times completely independent of the state,² whereas the cult at Pallene was under public supervision. The status of the Tetracomí in this regard is unknown. The assumption by the state of authority over the local league at Pallene is thus the only recorded example of what was probably a frequent occurrence in the religious unification of Attica.

On the other hand, although the information concerning this cult is fairly abundant, its interpretation is exceptionally difficult. Except

¹ All the works treating of the cult of Athena Pallenis or of the King's Law concerning it are listed in the bibliography below, pp. 66-7. These works will be cited simply by the author's name, with an abbreviated title added where the same author has written more than once on the subject.

² A newly published inscription records the assumption by the state of control over the Marathonian Heraclea in the early fifth century (Vanderpool *Hesp.* XI (1942) 333-37). Very probably the Tetrapolitans participated from early times in the celebration of this festival, as Vanderpool suggests (*l.c.* 335-36), but there is nothing to indicate that the festival had been administered by the Tetrapolis rather than by Marathon alone. On this festival cf., besides the references given by Vanderpool, Gruppe *RE* Supplbd III 'Herakles' 930.55-931.23.

for references to its finances in two inscriptions, all our knowledge is derived from the texts of two dedications and a series of extracts from a νόμος τοῦ βασιλέως, copied originally by three different authors, and preserved only by the omnivorous curiosity of Athenaeus (6.234-35). These texts have been subject to the arbitrary excisions of the excerptor as well as to the ignorance and carelessness of copyists both ancient and medieval. As a result, not only are there the usual textual corruptions to correct, but in the case of the law, by far the most important source, words and even whole phrases have been omitted as uninteresting, and the several fragments have been torn from their proper order.³ Sources of such a character clearly should be studied only as a whole, but no comprehensive treatment has been given in more than half a century, and even the work done on questions of detail lies hidden in the most scattered places. The present paper is an attempt to gather together this scattered material and to fill the need for a general treatment. While certain understanding of every detail is scarcely attainable, it should not be impossible to present a clear and trustworthy picture of the main features of the league and its cult.

I

THE SOURCES

The texts concerning this cult which are preserved by Athenaeus form part of a long chapter on the word parasite. Athenaeus drew his illustrative passages, of which these texts are only a small part, from a lexicographical source,⁴ in which they had already been reduced to mere extracts. Thus the intentional omissions of the excerptor are not to be considered lacunae in the text of Athenaeus, and it is therefore one problem to edit the text of Athenaeus and quite another to edit the original documents. The text of Athenaeus is given below as it is preserved in the MS A, the unique source of all those extant, with only those errors corrected which seem subsequent to Athenaeus'

³ For the methods of ancient excerptors, cf. Hense 'Ioannes Stobaios' *RE* IX Nachtr., 2583.48-2584.44; A. D. Nock, ed. *Corpus Hermeticum*, preface (forthcoming: Budé series).

⁴ This is proved by the parallels between Athen. 6.235b-236d and Poll. 6.35-36, as Rose (457) pointed out.

writing and due to the fault of scribes.⁵ The numbers in parentheses in the apparatus refer to the page of this paper where the reading in question is discussed. The intentional changes and omissions will be taken up in their logical order, and my final conclusions concerning the νόμος τοῦ βασιλέως will be presented at the end of this paper (pp. 60–61) in the form of a revised text of the original document.

ATHENAEUS 6.234d–235d

- ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ . . . γράψας περὶ παρασίτων φησὶν οὕτως· (fr. 78
Preller = FHG III 137–38) “τὸ τοῦ παρασίτου ὄνομα νῦν μὲν ἄδοξόν
ἐστι· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐρίσκομεν τὸν παράσιτον ἱερόν τι χρήμα καὶ
τῷ συνθοίνῳ παρόμοιον. . . . (234 f) ἐν δὲ Παλληνίδι τοῖς ἀνα-
5 θήμασιν ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε·
ἄρχοντες καὶ παράσιτοι ἀνέθεσαν οἱ ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου
ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ.
ἔπὶ Διφίλης ἱερείας παράσιτοι Ἐπίλυκος <Λυκος> τρά-
του Γαργήτιος, Περικλῆς Περικλείτου Πιτθεύς, Χαρίνος
10 Δημοχάρους Γαργήτιος.
κὰν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ νόμοις γέγραπται·
ἑθεῖν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους.”
. . . (235a) ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝ δ’ ἐν Παλληνίδι· (FHG IV 511)
“ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντα καὶ
15 τοὺς παρασίτους οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσαιρῶνται καὶ
τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς πρωτοπόσεις.”
. . . (235b) ΚΡΑΘΞ δ’ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου φησί·
(fr. vii.2 Wachsmuth) “καὶ ὁ παράσιτος νῦν ἐπ’ ἄδοξον μετὰκειται
πρᾶγμα, πρότερον δ’ ἐκαλοῦντο παράσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου
20 ἐκλογὴν αἰρούμενοι, καὶ ἦν ἀρχεῖόν τι (235c) παρασίτων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ
τοῦ βασιλέως νόμῳ γέγραπται ταυτί·

⁵ In the case of the majority of these scribal errors it is impossible to determine whether or not the mistake is subsequent to Athenaeus’ own writing. Of the three possibilities—viz. that the error was made in the MS tradition of Athenaeus’ work, or by Athenaeus himself or his scribes, or in the anterior tradition of his sources, immediate or ultimate—there is certainly no reason to choose the first *a priori*. Therefore in all these cases I have printed the text of Athenaeus unemended, but have indicated in the apparatus the need of emending the passage at least in the ultimate source.

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως
 ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶν-
 ται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα.

25 τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέ-
 ρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστον ἐκτέα κριθῶν, δαίνυσθαι τε ἢ τοὺς
 ὄντας Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τὸν δ' ἐκτέα
 παρέχειν εἰς ἢ τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων
 παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν.

30 ὅτι δὲ καὶ (235d) ἀρχεῖον ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ τάδε γέγραπται
 'εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ νεῶ [τοῦ ἀρχείου] καὶ τοῦ παρα-
 σιτίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διδόναι τὸ ἄργύριον ὁπόσου
 ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ μισθώσωσιν.' "

ἐκ τούτου δηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐτίθεισαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου
 35 οἱ παράσιτοι τοῦτο παρασίτιον προσηγορεύετο

4 Παλληνίδος Preller 117 (p. 39 n. 8) 5 ἐπιγέγραπται 'τάδε
 interpunx. Wilam. *Comm.* 10 7 στεφάνῳ ἐπὶ interpunx. Kirch-
 ner 263 (p. 42) : στεφάνῳ ἐπὶ Meineke : στεφάνῳ. ἐπὶ Kaibel
 8 Διφίλης Meier *de gent.* (p. 39 n. 9) : δὲ φυλῆς A : δ' Ἐριφύλης
 Casaub. : φιάλης ἱερᾶς Petit. *Legg.* 88 || lac. post ἱερείας ind.
 Preller 120 || ἱερείας.' παράσιτοι Mein. || Ἐπίλυκος Λυκο-
 στρατοῦ Meier *l. c.* (p. 42 n. 20) : ἐπιλυκοστρατοῦ A : Ἐπίλυκος
 Στρατίου Heringa 298 : Ἐπίλυκος Νικοστράτου Keil 12 Ἀχαρνέων
 edd. : Ἀχαρναίων A 13 Θεμισίων] θέσμιον Wilam. *Comm.* 9
 (p. 40 n. 11) || Παλληνίδος Wilam. *AuA* II 43.15 15 προσ-
 αἰρῶνται Wilam. *Comm.* 9 (p. 49) : προαιρῶνται A et fortasse
 Athenaeus 18 μετὰκειται Wilam. in ed. Kaib. : μὲν κείται A 22
 ante βασιλεύοντα vocc. βασιλέα τὸν αἰεί in lege regia supplenda
 demonstr. Hauvette 169 (p. 48) 23 κατασιτῶνται Rose 458
 25 ἐκ τῆς] ἐκτός Petit. *Misc., Legg.* 87 (p. 52 n. 63) || post
 ἐκλέγειν in textu legis lacunam exsistere demonstravit Preller
 121; de vocabulis ibi supplendis vide, sis, infra (p. 55 n. 78)
 26 τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίων] pro his vocabulis in textu legis fort.
 scribenda sunt θύσαντας (Valckenaer) τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ (Wilam., qui
 προθύσαντας maluit, in ed. Kaib.) (p. 59) : scripserunt alia alii,
 viz. Ἀθηναίους Musurus : παρόντας Ἀθηναίους Knorr *de par.* 5
 28 verba τὰ ἀρχεῖα etsi in lege regia non legebantur cave ne in

textu Athenaei corrigas (p. 65) 31 τοῦ ἀρχείου del. Kaib.
(p. 65 n. 114) 33 ἱερέων A : corr. Prell. 122 || fort.
<ἀπο>μισθώσωσιν.

The reader will at once have noticed that Athenaeus, whose purpose in citing these passages is not to give a systematic description of any cult but to illustrate the curious history of the word parasite, does not even make clear to what cult or cults they refer.⁶ There can, however, be little doubt that they refer to the cult of Athena Pallenis.⁷ This was by far the most famous cult of the deme Pallene; and, according to the usual custom that a woman should officiate at the cult of a goddess, this cult of Athena probably had a priestess at its head. Hence it is clear that the dedications copied by Polemon ἐν Παλληνίδι,⁸ one of which was dated by a priestess,⁹ were made in honor of Athena Pallenis, and that the archons and parasites who made the dedications were joined in the service of that goddess. The fact that her treasury had been brought to the Acropolis by the decree of Callias¹⁰ shows that the cult was under state supervision. Therefore when Themison in a work cited as Παλληνίς quotes what is obvi-

⁶ The fundamental treatment of these sources and their relation to one another was given by Hauvette.

⁷ The goddess of this cult was called variously Athena Pallenis and Athena of Pallenis. For the former style see Johnson *AJA* XXXV (1931) 42 pl. 4 l. 106 cf. 316; Eur. *Heracld.* 849, 1031; Hdt. 1.62. The latter form occurs in Meritt *Athen. Finan. Docc.* p. 141 l. 88 cf. 71: 'Αθε[ναίας ἐπὶ Παλλ]ενίδι. Pallenis is also used as the name of a place in Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 15.3, 17.4; Hesych. Παρθένου Παλληνίδος· ἱερὸν . . . ἐν Παλληνίδι. The exact meaning of Pallenis in this usage is uncertain, but it can scarcely be merely an exact equivalent of Pallene, the name of the deme: notice that the references to the battle at this site (Hdt., Arist., *ll. cc.*, Andoc. 1.106) use Παλληνίς or Παλλήνιον rather than Παλλήνη, probably because the latter term included a larger area and was consequently less precise. Presumably Παλληνίς indicates the site of the temple, perhaps a hill or other natural feature.

⁸ Since, as has been shown, Pallenis is the name of a place as well as an epithet of Athena, there is no need for Preller's (117) emendation ἐν Παλληνίδος.

⁹ Keil held to Petit's conjecture ἐπὶ δὲ φιάλης ἱερᾶς because the order of words normally found in dates by priests is ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δεῖνα. But Keil himself admitted that there are exceptions, and for an Attic example of the classic period, see *IG* II² add. 4371a (s. *iv a.*).

¹⁰ Johnson, *l.c.*; Meritt, *l.c.*

ously an extract of a law ordering the king archon as representative of the state to supervise a cult served by parasites, it is clear that this law too deals with the cult of Athena Pallenis.¹¹

The extracts quoted by Crates from the νόμος τοῦ βασιλέως deal with a number of parasites who had a common organization with a common ἀρχεῖον,¹² and who, after together¹³ collecting some barley, banqueted together in a certain shrine. The text as preserved in the MS does not name the deity whose shrine it was; Wilamowitz' emendation τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ depends for its justification upon the identification of the deity as Athena Pallenis, and thus has no value as an argument for that identification. The law further directs those among the parasites who came from Acharnae to use their barley for a different purpose from that of the others, viz. an offering to Apollo; but the very specification of Apollo by name as the recipient of this supplementary offering makes it apparent that he was not the deity honored by the parasites as a group. Once the possible confusion caused by the naming of Apollo has been put aside, the identification of the owner of the shrine is obvious. Polemon records that the cult of Athena Pallenis was served by archons and parasites, and Themison adds the information that the parasites were chosen ἐκ τῶν δῆμων under the supervision

¹¹ Themison's work was probably a monograph on the temple of Athena Pallenis, and the most likely explanation of the title is Preller's (118), that it is an abbreviation of περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίας Παλληνίδος. Such abbreviated citations were exceedingly common. Meineke (101) took Παλληνίς as a parallel to Ἀτθίς, meaning a monograph on the deme Pallene, but the form of title Ἀτθίς seems to have been unique. Gulick translates the title as an abbreviation of περὶ τῆς Παλληνίδος στοᾶς, but no such stoa is known, whereas the temple was famous.

Wilamowitz (*Comm.* 9) emended to θέσμιον δ' ἐν Παλληνίδι; this was rejected by Schöll, but defended by Wilamowitz in *AuA* II 43.15. For the possibility of θέσμιον used in this way cf. now Busolt *Staatsk.* I³ 456.1, II³ 802; V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee*, etc., Leipzig 1921, p. 108.6. The question is irrelevant here, since whether or not the emendation is correct, it is equally clear that the passage quoted is in effect a law dealing with Athena Pallenis.

¹² It is shown below (pp. 61-66) that τὰ ἀρχεῖα, the reading of the MS at 235c, although written by Athenaeus, was not the reading of the original text of the law; and that therefore there is no reason to doubt Crates' repeated statement (235bc, d) that there was only one ἀρχεῖον of the parasites.

¹³ That the Acharnian parasites made the collection at the same time as the others is made amply clear by the definite articles in τὸν δ' ἐκτέα and ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς.

of the king archon. Crates' law provides for just such an election of parasites ἐκ τῶν δῆμων under the supervision of the king in connection with a number of archons; it too must deal with this same cult. In fact, the extracts given by Themison and Crates are of so similar a tenor that it would seem that they are parts of the same law. Such a conclusion is corroborated by the fact that Pollux (3.39) cites the word *πρωτόποσις*, which occurs in Themison's document, as being found in the king's law, which is the name Crates gives to his.¹⁴ Presumably, as Hauvette (167-68) argued, the first fragment quoted by Crates, which deals with the election of the archons and parasites, preceded, in the original text of the law, the fragment quoted by Themison, which deals with their functions. The place of Crates' second fragment is discussed below (p. 73).

Finally there is the fragment of the νόμοι τοῦ βασιλέως quoted by Polemon: *θύειν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους*. This fragment has usually been taken¹⁵ to deal with an organization of parasites serving the cult of Apollo Agyieus at Acharnae which is mentioned by Pausanias (1.31.6). Clearly, however, this fragment of the king's laws is closely related to that quoted by Crates in which the Acharnian parasites are ordered to make an offering to Apollo, although it cannot be determined whether Preller (122) is right in believing that this phrase was omitted by Crates, or Hauvette (164-65) in holding that *θύειν* here is simply an abridgement of *τὸν ἐκτέα παρέχειν*. In either case the sacrifice to Apollo was a subordinate part of the rites in honor of Athena, and there was no organization of parasites attached to the cult of Apollo at Acharnae.¹⁶

¹⁴ This was pointed out by Casaubon. Wilamowitz (*Comm.* 10) is correct, however, in saying that there is no absolute certainty that Pollux here draws upon the document quoted by Themison.

Schweighäuser (364-66) believed that Themison and Crates had quoted, not merely from the same law, but actually the same passage, and that the text should be emended to remove the differences between the two quotations. Hauvette (164-67) contended that Crates and Polemon drew their knowledge of the law from the complete text of Themison. This assumption is not impossible, but is not capable of proof.

¹⁵ Most recently by Solders, 112-13.

¹⁶ Even *a priori* the idea that parasites supervised by the king archon were attached to the Acharnian cult was unlikely, first because there is no evidence

There remains the problem of the dates of the dedications and the law. Kirchner has given the definitive interpretation of the former, which depends on the punctuation of the text as printed above: Polemon has reported the texts of two dedications, not of only one. Kirchner demonstrated this by the presence of two dates, Pythodorus' archonship and Diphile's priesthood,¹⁷ and by the impossibility of construing the words of the text as a single dedication. It may be added that if Polemon had been reporting a single dedication he would probably have written ἀναθήματι τινι instead of τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν. The first dedication, then, dated by Pythodorus' archonship, must belong to the year 432/1, for in 404/3, the only other year with an archon of this name, the finances of Athens would scarcely have permitted the awarding of a golden crown. Both Kirchner and Wilhelm dated the second dedication and Diphile's priesthood to the second half of the fourth century by the identification of the parasite Charinus,¹⁸ whose father Demochares was prytanis about the middle of the century,¹⁹ and whose brother Epicharinus was γραμματεὺς in 304/3.²⁰

that that cult was ever of importance to the Athenian state, and second because by his very nature Apollo Agyieus, a mere god of roads, was not likely to have had an elaborate cult. For the latter reason Milchhöfer (57) wanted to connect the parasites with the Pythium at Oenoe in the Tetrapolis, comparing the Ceryces who served as parasites in the Delium (Athen. 6.234ef), which he assumed to be the one in the Tetrapolis.

¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 39 n. 9.

¹⁸ Stemma *PA* 3713.

¹⁹ *IG* II² 1747.38.

²⁰ *Ib.* 481-88, etc. Keil emended another parasite's name, preserved as Ἐπιλυκοστράτου Γαργήτιος, to Ἐπίλυκος Νικοστράτου Γαργήτιος, and identified him with the Epilycus son of Nicostratus of Gargettus of *IG* II¹ 2174, of the second half of the fourth century. The already determined date of the dedication may be thought to confirm this identification and restoration, which has been accepted by Köhler (*ad IG* *l.c.*), Wilhelm, and Kirchner. Mr. Raubitschek and Professor Broneer have called my attention to the fact that this inscription was rediscovered and republished by Crosby in *Hesp.* VI (1937) 462 no. 10; Crosby shows that it is a dedication by a group of knights, not a gravestone as given in *IG*¹. For the emendation of Athenaeus I have, however, preferred Meineke's palaeographically more elegant suggestion.

Epilycus of Gargettus may have been a member of the Philaid genos, for as Sauppe pointed out the names Epilycus and Lyces appear in Pherecydes' (*F Gr*

The date of the law presents a more serious and only partially soluble problem. On the one hand the second clause quoted by Crates orders repairs to be made to the cult property by the *ιερώων ἐπισκευασταί*, specialized officials for the maintenance of sacred buildings at the state's expense,²¹ who surely cannot be older than the fifth century, and probably are more recent than the placing of the treasuries of the local shrines under the control of the state in 434.²² On the other hand, that the organization was of great antiquity not only is indicated by its archaic appearance and curious officials and by the use of the obsolete terms *δαίνυσθαι* and *πρωτοπόσεις*, but is definitely proved by the fact that it was the king who represented the Athenian state, for it is well known that those rites which were placed under the supervision of the state in historic times, even as early as the sixth century (Greater Dionysia), were attributed to the province of the archon eponymus.²³ Thus, as Wilamowitz²⁴ was the first to see, the preserved document is a reenactment of ancient, perhaps unwritten custom. The rites were probably falling into neglect and the buildings into disrepair when the state intervened and charged the king not to neglect the former and the *ἐπισκευασταί* to care for the latter. The clause concerning the maintenance of the cult-buildings was presumably added as an appendix to the reenactment of the ancient usages.²⁵

So far it has been confidently assumed that this document in truth deserves the name of *νόμος* given it by Crates and Polemon. Hauvette

Hist 3 F 2) genealogy of the Philaid (I. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin 1889, p. 279) Miltiades, and there was a branch of this *genos* resident in the deme Gargettus (Töpffer 282).

²¹ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 50.1.

²² For a convenient summary of the problems concerning the date of the decree of Callias, which effected this centralization, see M. N. Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, Oxford 1933, pp. 106-9. Wilamowitz (*AuA* I 215.55) placed the law before rather than after the decree of Callias, writing that the law 'ergibt verhältnisse, die nicht die centralisirte vermögensverwaltung, sondern nur die staatsaufsicht über das kirchengut voraussetzen.' What reason he had for making this statement I cannot see.

²³ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 3.3, 56.4.

²⁴ *AuA* I 215.55.

²⁵ Thus it must have followed, not upon the first fragment quoted by Crates, but upon the fragment given by Themison. Cf. above, p. 4.

(161, 166-67, 170-71) denied this, holding that the provisions were of the specific nature which belongs to the field of decrees rather than to that of laws. This view, however, is based rather on the philosophers' doctrines concerning the proper nature of Law than on observation of the actual content of Athenian νόμοι. The laws of Solon which dealt with sacrifices fixed even the details of their cost,²⁶ and these details were preserved in the recodification of the laws which was made at the end of the fifth century.²⁷ The part of the document which seems least suited to the abstract nature of law is the clause providing for the repair of property, but when the Athenians in the fourth century had at last marked out the distinction between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα,²⁸ all provisions for regularly recurring expenses such as this²⁹ were definitely assigned to the field of νόμοι.³⁰ The term used by Crates and Polemon was used correctly.

II

THE CULT LEAGUE

The parasites of Athena were, as we have seen, chosen ἐκ τῶν δήμων. Obviously this phrase cannot mean from all the demes of Attica, for every Athenian was a member of some deme, and the phrase would be simply redundant.³¹ The demes in question must, therefore, have been a restricted number which had the right to participate in the cult. Four of these participating demes are known: Pitthus and Gargettus (234f), Acharnae (235c, cf. 234f), and Pallene itself.³²

²⁶ Plut. *Sol.* 23.3.

²⁷ *Hesp.* IV (1935) 21-32; X (1941) 32-36.

²⁸ Busolt-Swoboda *Staatsk.* II³ 1011-14; Glotz *Cité gr.* 386-88; bibliography E. Weiss, *Gr. Privatrecht*, I, Leipzig 1923, p. 97.195.

²⁹ Notice the present infinitive διδόναι: the clause provides, not for certain immediate repairs, but for whatever repairs may become necessary. Cf. Meistershans *Gramm. att. Inschr.*³ pp. 244-46 §18, esp. n. 1919 on δοῦναι and διδόναι, and to the examples there cited add *Syll.*³ 298.36-45, where both tenses occur with contrasted meaning: cf. A. Elter, *Ein athen. Gesetz*, etc., Bonn 1914, pp. 9-13.

³⁰ Busolt *Staatsk.* I³ 629-30.

³¹ Gilbert 213.

³² Gilbert (213) wished to add Sphettus on the insufficient grounds of the story of Pallas (Philoch. fr. 36 *FHG* I 390 = schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 35; Plut. *Thes.* 13).

All of these demes are located in a moderately small area,³³ and even though their territories do not form a completely unified bloc — some or all of the other demes in this region may also have belonged, for our list of members is probably incomplete³⁴ — the basis of the association was none the less evidently geographical proximity. This sort of local cult league was quite common in Attica.³⁵ The best known example is the Marathonian Tetrapolis,³⁶ which centered about a cult of Dionysus and offered sacrifices to a host of other deities as well. The Tetracomí³⁷ possessed a common Heracleum, and competed by villages in elaborately organized *κῶμοι*. The Epacreis³⁸ had some sort of religious rites to which the member demes contributed money. The Tricomi³⁹ are merely known to have existed.⁴⁰

³³ The best map is A. W. Gomme's, *Popul. of Ath.*, Oxford 1933.

³⁴ The list of three parasites after the second dedication (234f) certainly does not contain the names of all those who served on any one occasion, for the law (235c) clearly assumes that there will always be Acharnian parasites, whereas there is none in this list. Not all the parasites may have wished to join in the dedication, or Polemon may not have copied the whole list.

³⁵ The best complete list is given by Judeich *RE* 'Attika' 2215.21. Cf. Gilbert 211-13; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* II² 80-82; Fougères *DA* 'Kômé' 854b; von Schöffer *RE* *Δῆμοι* 26.8; de Sanctis 'Ατθίς' 24-25; Swoboda *RE* Supplbd IV 955.1. With one exception there are no articles in *RE* for the individual associations; the following notes supply bibliographies.

³⁶ Wrede *RE* 'Tetrapolis' (1).

³⁷ Gruppe *RE* Supplbd III 'Herakles' 928.21; Solders 107-8, 111, 113-14; Ferguson *Hesp.* VII (1938) 26.2, and esp. Palaos, *Πολέμων* I (1929), pp. 44-52, 107-11, 232-37. Wilhelm ('Εφ. 1902.137-40) wished to identify the Heracles ἐν Ἐλαιεῖ of *IG* I² 190.9, 276.6, 279.57, 280.75 with the Heracles of the Tetracomí, and this view was accepted by Milchhöfer *RE* 'Elaiеus'; cf. Gruppe *l.c.* 928.4. This question is of some importance, since Wilhelm's view would give us a second local cult league which had been put under the supervision of the state, but Hiller (*ad IG* I² 190) has adduced virtually certain reasons for rejecting Wilhelm's identification. On the question of a deme Elaeus cf. now ἐχς Ἐλαίας in *IG* I² 370.8.

³⁸ Solders 120-21.

³⁹ Solders 112. They are mentioned only in Steph. Byz. *Ἐπιურიδαί* and *IG* II² 1213. Because the three member demes named by Stephanus are near Mt. Aegaleus, while the inscription was found at Spata, Solders doubted and Judeich (*l.c.* 2215.44) denied that the two passages referred to the same organization. But the existence of two Tricomi is *a priori* unlikely, since Stephanus knew of only one, and the provenience of the inscription is by no means a sure indica-

These associations may well have been the remains of independent and sovereign political leagues of the days before the synoecism of Attica.⁴¹ If so, the placing of the cult of the Pallenian association under the supervision of the state acquires additional importance as showing one of the methods by which the synoecism was brought about, and corresponds to the establishment of branches at Athens of the more important local cults.⁴² Even if these leagues were never independent, they were certainly already very old in the fifth century. The innumerable heroes and heroines of the Tetrapolis, most of them without even a name, are of the most evident antiquity; this same league maintained independent relations with Delphi, and it was from its port and not the Piraeus that the state's solemn expedition to Delos set sail. The principal cult of the Tetracomî, that of Heracles, was almost certainly older than the sixth century.⁴³ It has already been shown (above, p. 43) that the cult at Pallene goes back at least to the seventh century.

These leagues have, of course, no relation whatever to the artificial division which Cleisthenes imposed upon Attica. In only one case

tion of its original location: cf. the many examples which Wilhelm has collected ('*Ep.* 1902.141-42) of stones transported to a considerable distance, among which is one originally from Athens but found in this same Spata. That the two passages refer to the same Tricomî was assumed without hesitation by Busolt *l.c.* 81.4 and von Schöffer *l.c.* 26.51.

⁴⁰ The Mesogii are included in all the lists of these local leagues, but were in reality an association of an entirely different sort: Schlaifer, 'The Attic Association of the Μεσόγειοι,' *CP* XXXIX (1944).

⁴¹ The Tetrapolis is given in both the lists of the twelve cities before Theseus: Philoch. fr. 11 *FHG* I 386 = Strab. 9.1.20 p. 397; *Etym. M.* 352.54 ἐπακρία χώρα. Löper (see Solders 107-8) argued that the Tetracomî were the second 'tetrapolis' of the list in *Etym. M.*, and that their acropolis was Munichia. The idea that the Tetracomî formed the second tetrapolis is at least as old as E. Curtius, *Inscr. att. nuper repertae XII*, Berolini 1843, p. 6. Ferguson (*CP* V (1910) 278; cf. *Hell. Ath.* 231.1) inferred this original independence from the use of the term 'archon' for the head of the Tetrapolis (cf. Tricomarchus, *IG* II² 1213). This argument, however, is risky, since the title may equally well be a late imitation of the title given by the state to the public magistrate, as de Sanctis (*l.c.* 25) pointed out. For a curious example of this imitation of official titles and formulas pushed to extremes see *IG* II² 1244.8-11.

⁴² For the practice of establishing branch cults in Athens, see Nilsson *AJP* LIX (1938) 392-93.

⁴³ Cf. Ferguson *Hesp.* VII 43.1.

where the membership is known, that of the Tricomi, do the member demes come from a single Cleisthenic tribe. The original constituent communities were not demes, which were artificial creations of Cleisthenes, but πόλεις and κῶμαι:⁴⁴ the Tetrapolis, Tetracomí, and Tricomi, maintained the old forms in their names. And yet these ancient associations were fitted without difficulty into the Cleisthenic system. In the Tetrapolis the demarchs of the four demes performed the most ancient rites in the place of whatever officials were originally at the head of the four πόλεις.⁴⁵ The constituent κῶμαι of the Tetracomí and Tricomi could be equated with the same number of Cleisthenic demes, and in the league of Pallene the demes coincided with the original constituent communities accurately enough for the parasites to be taken ἐκ τῶν δῆμων without disfranchising anyone who previously had a right to participate in the cult.⁴⁶ Thus these leagues afford valuable evidence on the way in which Cleisthenes' reforms, the final consummation of the unification of Attica, were brought about without resistance: he indulged in a minimum of interference with the existing order in the municipalities⁴⁷ and in the cults,⁴⁸ and at this early period the interests of the average man were probably more closely bound up with these immediate and local matters than with the government of the state as a whole.

III

THE CULT PERSONNEL

The first fragment of the law quoted by Crates instructs the king archon to see to it that archons are established. These cannot be the other eight archons of Athens, in whose choice the king played no part. Nor can they be civil officials of Pallene or of the other demes, for if any magistrate had intervened in the choice of local civil officials, it would not have been the king. They must therefore have been officials of the cult of Athena. The officials administering a cult

⁴⁴ On the distinction between κῶμη and δῆμος see Swoboda *l.c.* 951.13.

⁴⁵ *IG* II² 1358 ii 23, [1]. For the antiquity of the cults, see Wrede *l.c.* 1087.4.

⁴⁶ The known demes of the league received their names from the communities which they replaced: cf. Judeich *l.c.* 2215.1.

⁴⁷ Cf. von Schöffer *l.c.* 236-3.11.

⁴⁸ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 21.6.

in Cynosarges, probably the famous Heracleum, were likewise called archons.⁴⁹ In Opuntian Locris there was an ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν.⁵⁰ ἄρχεῖοντες appear as cult officials on Cos.⁵¹ It is often difficult to tell whether ἄρχων represents the title archon, or simply means 'official' as the verb ἄρχω can mean simply 'hold an office.' In the Tetrapolis, for example, where it is known that 'archon' was the title of a single official,⁵² the plural [ἄρχοντες]⁵³ must have been used in the more general sense. In the law of Pallene, however, the word can scarcely have had this loose meaning, since it clearly designates *certain* officials as opposed to other officials, the parasites. That these archons were the chief officials of the cult is evident not only from their title but from the fact that they are named before the parasites both in the law (235c) and in the dedication (234f).

It was, in fact, the archons who chose the parasites. The clause just referred to provides ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν < βασιλέα τὸν αἰεὶ >⁵⁴ βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως αὖ καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. As Preller (121) emphasized, αἰρῶνται simply cannot be a passive verb parallel to καθιστῶνται, because καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους is not grammatically parallel to τῶν τε ἀρχόντων: Crates has preserved only the first half of the clause depending on ἐπιμελείσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, and in the text of the law — not in the text of Athenaeus — a lacuna exists after the words τὰ γεγραμμένα.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Johnson *AJA* XXXV 42 pl. 4 ll. 232–33.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Quaestt. gr.* 292c.

⁵¹ Herzog *Abh. Berl.* 1928 no. 6 pp. 8, 49. Cf. the comarchi of the Tetracomia: Palaaios, *l.c.*; also the Boeotian and Oropian *ιεράρχαι*, who were charged with cult administration (Busolt *Staatsk.* I³ 501). Rose (458) identified the archons of Athena with the *ιεράρχαι* falsely restored in Rangabé *Antiq. hell.* II 148 no. 454; the document (*IG* II² 1264) actually mentions the *ἑπάρχοντες*.

⁵² *IG* II² 1358 ii 39; 2933.

⁵³ *Ib.* 1243.10, 17.

⁵⁴ αἰεὶ is of course absolutely necessary for a measure which like this one applies permanently and not for one occasion only. The formula as restored by Hauvette is the one always found in the inscriptions; cf. Themison's clause of this same law (235a). This omission looks like an ordinary haplography: an excerptor abridging the text would have left βασιλέα and omitted τὸν αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντα.

⁵⁵ Ferguson (*Hesp.* VII 58) accepts this interpretation of the clause. Gulick, however, translates αἰρῶνται as passive with παρασίτους as its subject.

Insistence on strict grammar may be thought unjustified in a text of this sort, but Preller's opinion is confirmed by the text reported by Themison. In the MS this passage reads ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αἰὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους οὓς ἂν . . . προαιρῶνται καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς . . . πρωτοπόσεις. After βασιλεύοντα Schöll restored <καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας>, a most likely emendation in itself, since the archons were the chief officials of the cult and would scarcely have been without a part in a duty so important that the king, the old men, and a group of women, were all charged with seeing that it was properly carried out.⁵⁶ The restoration is made certain by the clause which follows, referring to the parasites. In it the reading of the MS προαιρῶνται is unacceptable, for it would presumably mean the election of πρόκριτοι from whom the parasites would be chosen in a second election,⁵⁷ whereas both Crates' clause and this one make it clear that there was only one choice. Wilamowitz' emendation προσαιρῶνται is obvious, and accords perfectly with the other evidence. The verb means 'choose in addition (or as assistant) to' or 'coöpt,' and the parasites must be considered the subordinates or associates of some other official or officials of the cult, since obviously they are not the assistants of the king archon of Athens. The chief officials of the cult are evidently the archons, as has been said, and it is clear from the dedication that it was they who had the parasites as associates: together they received a crown and together they made a dedication (234f). But in all the examples of the use of προσαιρεῖσθαι given in LS⁹, the *Thesaurus*, and the indices to *Sylloge*³, this verb is never used without its being clear to whom the additional persons are to be added. Thus its use here requires the precedent mention of the archons, and Schöll's restoration is confirmed.⁵⁸ ἄρχοντες is then the subject of αἰρῶνται at 235c as it is of προσαιρῶνται at 235a.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Schöll himself says only 'vgl. p. 235c und 234f.'

⁵⁷ This meaning, however, is never found in Attic literature, according to LS⁹. Arist. *Pol.* 1298b27 must obviously be emended, as it has been by Susemihl, to προσαιρεῖσθαι.

⁵⁸ The omission of the words was probably made intentionally by Themison because he was interested only in the curious functionaries of this cult and not in the every-day title of archon; it does not look like a scribe's error. Consequently the words should not be restored with Kaibel in the text of Athenaeus. Schöll was discussing the text of the law.

⁵⁹ Hauvette (168-69) argued that this is impossible because a different mode

Twice, then, the law expressly states that the archons chose the parasites ἐκ τῶν δήμων, and the fact that it is so expressly stated makes it probable that the archons themselves did *not* come from 'the demes.' Presumably they were taken among the citizens of Pallene, although it is not impossible that when the state took the cult under its supervision it opened this office to the Athenians at large just as it made the highest offices in the Eleusinian cult accessible to non-Eleusinians. The parasites, on the other hand, were the representatives of the constituent communities: if the archons were Palleneis the parasites may have come from the other demes exclusively; if the archons were taken ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων Pallene probably furnished parasites. In either case it seems that each deme had a definite right to be represented by a certain number of parasites, and that the archons were not free to pass over any one, for the law (235c, cf. 234f) assumes that there will always be Acharnian parasites without providing this specifically in the clause on their election (235c). Thus this league affords a most interesting example of the great antiquity of the representative system in Greece, and it is important to notice that the same system was applied in the other well known league, the Tetrapolis, where the four hieropoei were taken one from each of the member cities.⁶⁰ If we may trust a very uncertain restoration, each village of the Tetracommi was represented by an epimelete in the care of the Heracleum.^{60a}

The preserved evidence does not inform us from what demes the old men and the women still married to their first husbands came. Probably, however, these two categories were not officials of the cult

of selection is described by Cleidemus (Athen. 6.235a) and Diodorus (*ib.* 239d). Both these authors, however, describe the parasites of Heracles at Marathon; and that the parasites of divers cults could be chosen in various manners is amply proved by the example of the case of Heracles in Cynosarges (*ib.* 234de), where the priest enforced the choice and probably made it.

⁶⁰ *IG* II² 2933.

^{60a} *Palaios Πολέμων* I 235-37 no. 11. Of course, the chorus of each village was governed by comarchs from that village: *ib.* 44-52 no. 1; 232-34 no. 10. To the reasons adduced by Palaios for deriving κώμαρχοι from κῶμος rather than κώμη, add the fact that two contemporaneous comarchs were brothers and thus presumably of the same village: *ib.* p. 45 no. 1A, Philton and Pamphilus, sons of Aeschytus.

but simply persons with the privilege of participating in certain rites. If this is so, then it would be likely that all the people in these two classes from all the villages of the league shared in the privilege.

IV

THE PROPERTY AND FINANCES OF THE CULT

Athena Pallenis is known to have possessed a certain amount of cash, or of valuables which could readily be turned into cash, for these were brought on to the Acropolis by the decree of Callias and included in the regular annual accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods.⁶¹ From these funds the goddess lent money to the state.⁶² These moneys, it is true, may have come from the sale of dedications or other sources, and show nothing about the regular revenues of the cult. Any cult as old as this, however, was sure to possess a certain amount of property, the revenues of which defrayed the costs of the rites. In fact, the king's law mentioned some of Athena's properties and a part of the revenue she drew from them.

The clause of the law which affords this information is the extremely corrupt and much misinterpreted one which reads, in the MS of Athenaeus (235c) τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκτέα κριθῶν, δαίνυσθαί τε . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. No interpretation of this clause is justifiable which does not start from the one fact which is known with certainty: βουκολία and the other words formed on this stem deal with the herding of cattle, or else have metaphorical meanings clearly derived from this original signification. The only meaning with which βουκολία and βουκόλιον are actually found is simply 'a herd of cattle.' While this may have been extended to include a place where cattle were herded, a pasture, it is inconceivable that it ever meant crop-land,⁶³ and hence the text,

⁶¹ Johnson *AJA* XXXV 42 pl. 4 ll. 106, 316. For the nature of these accounts see Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, p. 97.2.

⁶² Meritt *Athen. Finan. Docc.* p. 141 ll. 71, 88.

⁶³ Despite this, Hauvette (170) returned to Casaubon's conjecture that the word meant the area of land assigned to the parasites for the collection of the sacred grain. Wilamowitz (*AuA* I 215.55, cf. II 42-43) went back to van Dale's identification of βουκολία with the Βουκόλειον. This view would lead to the

which seems to order the taking of barley from the βουκολία, is incomprehensible. Nor is this the only difficulty. Immediately after ordering this collection of barley, the law commands the parasites to banquet in the shrine. Raw barley, however, would scarcely have afforded an adequate feast. Barley was normally used at sacrifices for the κατάρχεσθαι which preceded the slaying of the victims, sometimes also for the dressing of the meat.⁶⁴ The solution of these two serious difficulties was given by Preller (121): there is a lacuna in our text of the law, presumably after the word ἐκλέγειν. From the βουκολία was taken a victim,⁶⁵ chosen for its perfection,⁶⁶ on the flesh of which the parasites dined after the sacrifice. The herd from which the victim was taken was presumably part of the property of Athena Pallenis. Such a herd of cattle at the disposal of a cult organization was very common, and Stengel⁶⁷ has cited examples of these ἱερὰ βοσκήματα from all parts of Greece.⁶⁸

incredible conclusion that the grain was first collected in the country, then carried into the city and stored in the Bucoleum, and finally carried out to Pallene for the festival. Further disproof of this attempt to make βουκολία a by-form of Bucoleum is provided by the fact that no Attic name of an *Amtslocal* terminating in -ia is known (cf. Busolt-Swoboda *Staatsk.* II³ 1074.3; Wachsmuth *Stadt Athen* II 344-58; Kahrstedt *Untersuch. z. Magistr.* 296-99). Petit proposed a still more desperate interpretation, emending to ἐκτὸς βουκολίας and translating this 'sine dolo malo.' This was accepted by Schweighäuser (367-68; cf. his translation) and by Yonge in his translation. But while βουκολία may perhaps have been used with this meaning in every-day speech, it certainly cannot have been in a legal document.

⁶⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.559; *Od.* 14.77.

⁶⁵ Since only the parasites participated in the banquet (cf. below, p. 59), one ox was probably enough.

⁶⁶ ἐκλέγειν used with an animal for sacrifice as object means 'choose.' Cf. the frequent provision in the sacrificial calendars that the victim shall be κριτός: e.g. *IG* I² 840.18, 22; *Hesp.* IV 21 ll. 22, 70. Compare also the elaborate procedure by which an ox was chosen for sacrifice in Cos: Herzog *Abh. Berl.* 1928 no. 6 p. 8 *ad* l. 5 of his improved text of *Syll.*³ 1025 = Prott *Legg. sacr.* I no. 5; cf. Herzog p. 10 no. 2 l. 14 = *Syll.*³ 1026, Prott 6.

⁶⁷ *Gr. Kultusal.*³ 93-94.

⁶⁸ It is possible that the Athenian state itself had such a herd on the Pnyx: Ar. *Eq.* 1135-40 and schol. *ad* 1136. Br. Keil (*Anonym. Argent.*, Strassburg 1902, p. 311.3) and van Leeuwen (*ad loc.*) have taken these passages as implying the existence of such a herd; this has been denied by Neil and Merry in their

After ordering the selection of a victim, which the parasites probably made together as a group, the law goes on to command each parasite individually to collect a hecteus of barley ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν.⁶⁹ This phrase has usually been translated 'each from his part,' and the ordinary interpretation⁷⁰ has been that the territory of the cult league, or of all Attica, was divided into districts from each of which one parasite was to levy as a tithe a hecteus of barley. Such tithes for the support of cults were not rare in Greece: beside the famous levy for the Eleusinian cult, to which all Attica was subject,⁷¹ compare the tithe of barley collected by a κριθολόγος in Opuntian Locris.⁷² In this case, however, the law clearly must be translated 'from *their* part,' i.e. a part which belonged in common to all the parasites. This being so, the interpretation of μέρος as a tithe-district must be given up, for since Crates says that the parasites were the officials who collected the sacred grain, presumably the other officials of the cult did not make a collection, and thus while the one μέρος of the parasites would have been obliged to pay the tax, all the other μέρη would have gone scot free.

It would seem, therefore, that the grain, like the ox, came from some property of Athena, a part of which was assigned to the parasites: it might have been a storehouse, or else a field on which barley was growing, for a piece of cultivated land was one of the most com-

editions and by M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, Leipzig 1906, p. 106.1. If the state really had such a herd, it might possibly have furnished the victim for the sacrifice at Pallene, for it was the custom of the state to supply victims for the public cults (Hesych. δημοτελῆ ἱερά; Bekk. *Anecd.* I 240.28; Schlaifer *HSCP* LI (1940) 238 and n. 5). In that case, however, the victim would probably have been chosen by an official of the state and not by the parasites of Athena Pallenis.

⁶⁹ These words might conceivably be taken with the selection of the victim rather than with the collection of the barley, but this interpretation seems unlikely, for the division of a herd into μέρη not only would have been difficult without branding the animals (after which they would no longer be τέλεια), but seems perfectly useless.

⁷⁰ E.g. Preller 121-22; the translations of Schweighäuser and Gulick. For other interpretations, all exceedingly vague, see van Dale 216 and the translations of Dalechamp and Villebrune.

⁷¹ *IG* I² 76.4-21.

⁷² Plut. *Quaest.* gr. 292bc.

mon forms of cult property,⁷³ and the income from such properties was often received in kind.⁷⁴ But it must be noticed that ἐκλέγειν and ἐκλογή, the words used for the collection of the barley, do not mean simply 'take' or 'collect as rent': they refer either to a *choice* or to a *levy*. The former meaning is scarcely in place here. 'Choice' barley is never, so far as I know, required in the sacrificial calendars, and while the specification is once found in the terms of lease of cult property that the barley paid as rent shall be καθαρά καὶ δοκίμα,⁷⁵ this means simply 'of good standard quality,' and the selection of it would scarcely have been designated an ἐκλογή. The passage has been thought⁷⁶ to mean that the parasites went into their part of a field and chose the ripest ears, or reaped the part where the grain was highest. This interpretation, however, forces the language of the text, which certainly could have expressed such a provision in much clearer terms.

Thus the meaning 'levy' appears after all to be the only one possible, but it must be reconciled with the ownership by the cult of the property from which the tithe was collected, and with the probability that a regular rent would have been collected in addition for such a property. But such a subjection of the lessees of cult property both to payment of rent and to special *prestations* for cult purposes is not without parallel. In two inscriptions of the fourth century giving the terms of the lease of properties belonging to cult associations (ὀργεῶνες) it is provided that in addition to the payment of a money rent the lessee shall put the temple in good condition for the performance of the rites, provide tables and couches, etc.⁷⁷ Thus the lessee

⁷³ Cf. P. Guiraud, *La propriété fonc. en Grèce* (Paris 1893), pp. 365-67; Böckh *Staatsh.*³ 372-75.

⁷⁴ Perhaps the most famous example is the grain received by the Eleusinian cult as rent for the Rharian field: *IG* II² 1672.252-62 = *Syll.*² 587.

⁷⁵ *Tab. Heracl.* I (*IG* XIV 645 = *Rec. inscr. jur. gr.* I xii = Collitz *SGDI* 4629 = Schwyzer *Dialectt. gr. exx.* 62) l. 103: the lessee of the land of Dionysus at Heraclea shall pay to the officials of the state μεστῶς τῶς χοῦς κριθᾶς καθαρᾶς δοκίμας holus ka ha γὰ φέρει. The editors of the *Inscr. jur.* translate 'orge nette et marchande.' I am grateful to Professor Whatmough for knowledge of this passage.

⁷⁶ Cf. Meier *Parasiten* 417a.

⁷⁷ *IG* II² 2499, 2501.

of the part of the field of Athena Pallenis which was assigned to the parasites might not only have been held to the payment of regular rent in money or kind, but also have been obliged to supply each of the parasites with a hecteus of *ἱερὸς σῖτος* for this sacrifice, the most important of the year.⁷⁸ With this sacred grain of Athena Pallenis should be compared the grain which was grown on the *βουζύγιον* or *ἱερὸς ἄροτος* at the foot of the Acropolis and was sacred to Athena Polias.⁷⁹ It should also be remembered that golden ears of corn are among the catalogued treasures of the goddess of the city.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The sense of the passage being thus determined, it may be worth while to suggest very tentatively a text to fill the lacuna. Immediately after the preserved *ἐκλέγειν* must have come the specification of the victim, either the singular *βοῦν* or the plural *βοῦς* accompanied by a numeral. The greater probability of the singular has been pointed out above, p. 52 n. 65. For this reason I accept Knorr's later suggestion (*Die Par.* 4) *βοῦν, καὶ* for the beginning of the lacuna. The need of stating the number of victims invalidates both Preller's (121) indefinite plural *βοῦς, καὶ* and Knorr's earlier suggestion (*De par.* 4-5) that the only word lost is *καὶ*, since nothing but *βοῦς* could be taken from a *βουκολία*. Knorr's view that nothing more than *βοῦν, καὶ* need be restored is perhaps not impossible, but one misses a specification of the property of which the parasites had a *μέρος*. Consequently I suggest that the gap may be filled, with *βοῦν, καὶ ἐκ (nomen loci) ἐκλέγειν*. The use of the verb *ἐκλέγειν* to designate the collection of the barley is made certain by the use of *ἐκλογή* further on.

If the lost words were such as I have suggested, the peculiar nature of the omission would be perfectly explained as a haplography. This seems more probable than an intentional omission, for an excerptor would presumably have also omitted the words *ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας*, which have nothing to do with the collection of the barley. There is nothing to indicate whether the omission was made in the MS tradition of Athenaeus, by that author himself, or in the ancient tradition of his source. The assumption of so long a lacuna has been criticized as too heroic a measure, but it must not be forgotten that this text has an exceedingly complicated history and has been copied more than once by a hurried compiler, so that even *a priori* the presence of such lacunae is to be suspected rather than denied. The measure is at least far less heroic than the mistranslation of *βουκολία*, the meaning of which is perfectly well known, in a sense which is not attested and which was slang if it did exist.

⁷⁹ Töpffer *Att. Geneal.* 137; Plut. *Sull.* 13.3.

⁸⁰ *λήιον περίχρυσον, στάχυνες* ΔΙΙ: *IG* I² 280.78, etc.; II² 1379.8, 1425.264, 1428.179, etc. Cf. R. Kohts, *De redivibus templorum gr.*, diss. Götting. 1869, pp. 11-12. For Athena as a goddess of agriculture in general, cf. below, p. 57 and n. 88.

Despite her possession of revenue-producing property, Athena's income seems to have been insufficient to maintain her cult buildings — temple, sacred house,⁸¹ and parasitium — in good repair, and the state was forced to charge its *ιερώων ἐπισκευασταί* with this task (235d). Our only information concerning these officials comes from Aristotle,⁸² who informs us that *κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ δέκα ἄνδρες, οἱ λαμβάνοντες τριάκοντα μνᾶς παρὰ τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν ἐπισκευάζουσιν τὰ μάλιστα δέοντα τῶν ἱερῶν*. Thus for the small expenses of ordinary maintenance these officials replaced with a more summary procedure the commissions of epistatae which were created in each case to take charge of large-scale jobs of construction or repair.⁸³ The law quoted by Crates adds the information that despite the smallness of the undertakings of the *ἐπισκευασταί*, they nevertheless, like the epistatae, let the job to contractors rather than hire workers and buy materials themselves.⁸⁴ Normally, Aristotle tells us, the *ἐπισκευασταί* paid for their repairs from a fixed budget; that is not the case in this law, which orders a special appropriation for the repairs. Thus the *ἐπισκευασταί* here operate in exactly the same fashion as epistatae, and since the latter received from the state the money to pay for the works and with it paid the contractors,⁸⁵ it is to be assumed that in this case too the law directed some treasury to pay the funds to the *ἐπισκευασταί*, not directly to the contractors. The name of the official or officials

⁸¹ In this context *ιερὰ οἰκία* is probably a building used for sacred purposes, e.g. the dwelling of cult officials: cf. *IG* II² 1672.127, 293. The expression can also signify a house owned by a cult and let out for revenue: e.g. *IG* I² 363.24, 364 ii 8, 367.6.

Presumably Wilamowitz (*AuA* I 215.55) was identifying the *ιερὰ οἰκία* with the Bucoleum when he spoke of the restoration of the latter, for the Bucoleum was certainly not called parasitium even if, as Wilamowitz thought, the parasites had some connection with it.

⁸² *Resp. Ath.* 50.1.

⁸³ Chavannes *DA* 'Epistatês' 704b-706a; cf. Busolt-Swoboda *Staatsk.* II³ 1052, 1057.1; H. Francotte, *L'industrie dans la Grèce anc.* II, Bruxelles 1901, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁴ On the method of execution of public works generally, see Francotte *op. c.* 81-91; cf. Busolt *Staatsk.* I³ 627-28. It cannot be determined from our sources whether or not the contracts made by the *ἐπισκευασταί* were, like those of the epistatae, auctioned off by the poletae (Glotz *DA* 'Polêtai' 543a).

⁸⁵ *IG* I² 336-74, II³ 1655, 1672, etc.

to make the payment was omitted by Crates. Presumably the title followed *διδόναι* or *ἀργύριον*,⁸⁶ but since many different treasuries could be drawn upon to pay for public works, the name cannot be restored.⁸⁷

V

THE FESTIVAL

The occasion of the festival regulated by this law seems to have been the ripening of the grain: this is suggested by the conclusion just reached, that the sacred grain used by the parasites was levied on the farmers of a sacred field, a levy which most likely would have been made just before or just after the harvest. Although in the developed religion of Attica Athena was no longer the chief deity of agriculture, yet she had once played this role, traces of which remain in the 'sacred plowing' of the *βουζύγιον* just mentioned.⁸⁸

Part of the sacred grain of the parasites, that collected by the Acharnians, was offered not to Athena but to Apollo, a god often associated with Athena.⁸⁹ The law provided (235c) *τὸν δ' ἐκτέα*

⁸⁶ It is perhaps not impossible that the subject of *διδόναι* remains the same as the subject of a preceding infinitive not quoted by Crates, and that hence there is no lacuna here. But the only other injunction that could have been laid upon the official who was to provide this money would presumably have been an order to pay for something else, and the two objects would probably have been joined with the same verb, e.g. *εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν διδόναι, κτλ.*

⁸⁷ Wilamowitz (*AuA* I 215.55) held that it was the king who was to pay the money. This, however, is about the only source that is absolutely out of the question, for while the king might have retained a small amount of revenue from ancient times, this was undoubtedly required for the performance of his regular duties, and cannot have left an indefinite surplus which would suffice for repairs *ἀπόρου ἂν μισθώσωσιν*. It must be pointed out that the order to pay might conceivably have been drawn on the treasury of Athena Pallenis herself, since such orders on other cult treasuries are known (*IG* I² 76.12, II² 333C14, 1672.300, cf. 47.28-32). These other orders, however, deal with special projects which the people had decided to carry out: ordinary maintenance, if it was paid for by a cult's own treasury, was presumably left in the hands of the cult's own officials without the intervention of the *τερῶν ἐπισκευασταί*.

⁸⁸ For Athena as an agrarian goddess, see Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Athena' 683.20; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, pp. 15, 17. Cf. Wilamowitz *AuA* II 37.5.

⁸⁹ Milchhöfer 13; G. Colin, *Culte d'Apoll. pyth.* (Bibl. écoles fr. Ath. Rome XCIII), Paris 1905, pp. 93-95.

παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα† τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους. It is shown below (pp. 61–66) that the words τὰ ἀρχεῖα, although written by Athenaeus, cannot possibly have stood in the text of the law, and must be replaced by a word expressing the purpose for which the grain was offered. Since the most famous offering of grain to Apollo was that of the *θαργήλια*,⁹⁰ or ἀπαρχαί of the ripening grain, which gave their name to the festival of the Thargelia, and since the grain collected by the parasites was in fact an ἀπαρχή, it seems not unlikely that this grain was used for *θαργήλια* and that this word is to be read in the text of the law in place of τὰ ἀρχεῖα.⁹¹ The corruption of ΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΑ, although admittedly difficult to explain, seems somewhat more probable when it is recollected that τὰ ἀρχεῖα may well represent ΤΑΡΧΕΙΑ in the source of Athenaeus, who frequently resolves a crasis.⁹² The emendation is corroborated by the fact that Crates, in the same second book of the *Attic Dialect* in which he quoted the law, discussed the *θάργηλος* or bread baked from this earliest grain.⁹³

Concerning the procedure of this festival at Pallene we are unfortunately almost completely without information. Presumably, though not certainly, Themison's clause deals with the festival, and provides that the king archon, the cult archons,⁹⁴ and the women still with their first husbands, shall take part. The main role must have been played by those persons who after the sacrifice banqueted in the shrine.⁹⁵ Here once more our corrupt text fails us, for the read-

⁹⁰ Deubner *op. c.* 188–89.

⁹¹ Kaibel proposed *Θαργήλια*, apparently taking the sentence to mean 'furnish to Apollo for the festival of the Thargelia.' Normally, however, the date or occasion of an offering would be expressed by the dative, *τοῖς Θαργηλίοις*. Furthermore, since the Acharnians collected their barley together with the other parasites (above, p. 40 n. 13), it is very probable that they offered it to Apollo at the same time as the others offered theirs to Athena. Thus there would have been no need to specify the occasion of the offering to Apollo, whether both it and the one to Athena or neither was made on Thargelion 7, the day of the Thargelia. Wilamowitz (*AuA* II 43) perhaps intended the emendation which I have proposed: he wrote that the Acharnian parasites 'einen ἐκτεύς gerste nach der ernte (als Thargelia) zu zinsen haben.'

⁹² Zepernick *Philol.* LXXVII (1921) 329–30.

⁹³ Athen. 3.114a.

⁹⁴ Cf. above, p. 49.

⁹⁵ With *δαίνυσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* cf. *Syll.*³ 1024.26, 28 = Prott *Legg. sacr.* I 4 (Myconos, fourth cent.) *δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ*, which Ziehen (*Legg. sacr.* II p. 148)

ing of the MS δαίνυσθαι τε τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίων is unintelligible.⁹⁶ The sense here, however, is not difficult to determine. The use of the conjunction τε makes it clear, as Professor Nock has pointed out to me, that the subject of δαίνυσθαι is still τοὺς παρασίτους. And since the middle voice of this verb can only mean 'participate in a banquet,' not 'give a banquet for,' the words τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίων do not conceal the name of the recipients of the feast, but are to be emended to some other effect.⁹⁷ I have hesitatingly adopted Wilamowitz' προθύσαντας τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, changing προθύσαντας to θύσαντας, which makes as good sense and is palaeographically easier. Thus it was the parasites who feasted on the flesh of the victim they had chosen and sacrificed to Athena after having all joined in strewing their barley over it in the rite of κατάρχεσθαι.⁹⁸

This banquet is, of course, the essence of the office of the parasite. The name itself means 'one who dines with,' and Polemon (234d) says parasites were like σύνθιοι. The parasites of Heracles in Cynosarges were represented in Aristophanes' *Daitaleis* — a term which occurs in an inscription⁹⁹ and may be official — as banqueting in the shrine.¹⁰⁰

VI

CONCLUSION

The extracts quoted by Athenaeus in his chapter on parasites from the works of Themison and Crates come from a portion of the law of the king archon of Athens which dealt with the cult of Athena Pal-

interprets as a provision against carrying the meat out of the sanctuary. For the verb δαίνυσθαι in *leges sacrae*, cf. also Herzog *Abh. Berl.* 1928 no. 6 p. 12 l. 9 [δαιν]ύοντι δὲ δύο θυώνας ποιήσαντες.

⁹⁶ Even if one emends to Ἀθηναίους the words simply do not have the meaning 'the genuine Athenian citizens' given them by Preller (122).

⁹⁷ For this reason Valckenaer's τοὺς θύσαντας Ἀθηναίων and Knorr's τοὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίων must be rejected.

⁹⁸ Cf. above, p. 52. For the participation of all concerned and not the priest alone in κατάρχεσθαι, see P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche d. Griechen*, Leipzig-Berlin 1910, pp. 43-44; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer*, Kristiania 1915, p. 261; among the sources, especially Ar. *Pax* 962-65.

⁹⁹ *IG* II² 1267.

¹⁰⁰ Kock *CAF* I p. 433; Blaydes ed. Ar. XII p. 96.

lenis. These extracts, with the texts of two dedications quoted by Athenaeus from Polemon, and two fragmentary preserved inscriptions, afford our only information concerning this cult.

The worship of Athena at Pallene was the concern of a league of neighboring demes, comprising at least Pallene, Pitthus, Gargettus, and Acharnae. This league may once have been an independent political unit; in any case it is exceedingly old. Already in the seventh century or before, the cult had been placed under the control of the Athenian state, whose agent was the king archon. In 434 its treasure was brought in to the Acropolis. Some time later the state assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the cult buildings.

The cult was served by special officials with the title archon, and by a number of parasites who were chosen by the archons from the demes belonging to the league according to a sort of representative system. The old men of the league and the women still with their first husbands played a special rôle. For the great festival on the occasion of the ripening of the grain the parasites chose a victim, probably from a herd belonging to Athena, and levied a quota of barley, again probably on a property of the goddess. After using the barley in the preliminary rites and then sacrificing the victim, they banqueted on its flesh in the temple precinct. Apollo was joined with Athena in the rite, and received that portion of the barley collected by the Acharnian parasites.

In the light of these conclusions and the preceding discussions on which they are based, the text of the king's law dealing with this cult may be tentatively reconstructed.¹⁰¹

I (Crates *ap.* Athen. 6.235 c) ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν <βασιλέα τὸν αἰ> βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, . . .

II (*ibid.*) τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν <βοῦν, καὶ 5 ἐκ . . . ἐκλέγειν> ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκτέα κριθῶν· δαίνυσθαι τε θύσαντας τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τὸν δ' ἐκτέα παρέχειν εἰς θαργήλια τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν.

¹⁰¹ Numbers in parentheses in the apparatus refer to the pages of this article where specific readings are justified. For the order in which the four fragments are arranged, see above, pp. 41, 43 n. 25.

III (Themison *ibid.* 235 a) ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αἰὶ
10 βασιλεύοντα <καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας> καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν
δήμων προσαιρῶνται καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς πρωτοπόσεις.

IV (Crates *ibid.* 235 d) εἰς <δὲ> τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ νεῷ καὶ τοῦ
παρασιτίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διδόναι . . . τὸ ἀργύριον ὅπου
ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ μισθώσωσιν.

1 suppl. Hauvette 169 (p. 48) 2 κατασιτῶνται Rose 458 3 lac. ind. Preller
121 (p. 48) 4 ἐκ τῆς] ἐκτός Petit. *Misc.*, *Legg.* 87 (p. 52 n. 63) || in lac. a
Prellero 121 ind. βούν καὶ suppl. Knorr *Die Par.* 4, ἐκ . . . ego, ἐκλέγειν Prell.
(p. 55 n. 78) 5 post κριθῶν lac. ind. Prel. 122 6 θύσαντας (Valckenaer)
τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ Wilam., qui προθύσαντας maluit, in ed. Kaib. (p. 59): τοὺς ὄντας
'Αθηναίων A : τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους Musurus : τοὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους Knorr
de par. 5 7 θαργήλια scripsi pro Θαργήλια quod dubitanter proposuit Kaib.
(p. 58) : τὰ ἀρχεῖα A; post ἀρχεῖα lac. ind. Prel. 122 10 suppl. Schöll
(p. 49) 11 Wilam. *Comm.* 9 (p. 49) : προσαιρῶνται A 12 supplevi || post
νεῷ vocc. τοῦ ἀρχείου del. Kaib. (p. 65 n. 114) 13 lac. indicavi (pp. 56-57)
14 ἱερέων A : corr. Prell. 122 || fort. <ἀπο>μισθώσωσιν.

APPENDIX

THE READING τὰ ἀρχεῖα IN THE KING'S LAW (ATHEN. 6.235c)

The part of the king's law quoted by Crates contains the clause
τὸν δ' ἐκτέα παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους.
Kaibel was the first to suspect that this passage is corrupt, and to
suggest that the corruption is in the words τὰ ἀρχεῖα, although he left
them in his text, unmarked by the obelus. My purpose here is to
show conclusively that the passage as preserved in the MS and printed
by all editors cannot have been the actual reading of the law, but
certainly was the reading of Athenaeus.

The first difficulty in the understanding of the words παρέχειν εἰς
τὰ ἀρχεῖα is that παρέχειν εἰς is never found with the meaning 'deposit
in': after παρέχειν, the preposition εἰς normally indicates the object
for which the thing furnished is to be used,¹⁰² while 'deposit in' is

¹⁰² E.g. Isocr. 8.59; cf. Kühner-Gerth II³ i p. 470 §3a. The usage παρέχειν
τινὰ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, etc., is not parallel to παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα, since the sense
in the former phrase is rather 'produce someone before' (Kühner-Gerth *l.c.* §1d):
cf. παρέχειν τινὰ εἰς κρίσιν 'present someone for trial' (Aeschn. 2.117). The only
passage which might be thought parallel to ours is *Syll.*³ 955.47 ἀναγεγραμμένην

properly expressed by *τιθέναι* or one of its compounds.¹⁰³ This law is a document of the classic period (above, p. 43) and is written in good Greek; such a solecism as *παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα* is inconceivable.

The corruption might be sought either in *παρέχειν εἰς* or in *τὰ ἀρχεῖα*. The decision between the two alternatives is not difficult, for even if *παρέχειν* were replaced by *τιθέναι*, the words *τὰ ἀρχεῖα* would still be unintelligible. An *ἀρχεῖον* in classic Greek is one of two things, a board of magistrates, or the *Amtslocal* of a magistrate or magistrates.¹⁰⁴ The former sense is impossible here, for the subject of the verb is clearly *τοὺς παρασίτους* and the object *τὸν ἐκτέα*, so that magistrates could only appear as the recipients of the grain, and this would require a dative of the indirect object rather than *εἰς* with the accusative. Nor can *παρεχεινείσ* be considered a corruption to be replaced by a single verb with no preposition, for then *τὰ ἀρχεῖα* would be left with no construction whatever. The alternative meaning of the word *ἀρχεῖον*, viz. *Amtslocal*, is equally unacceptable, because it is impossible to determine what *Amtslocale* are meant. Meier¹⁰⁵ thought they were the several bureaux of the cult archons; but the word *ἀρχεῖον* in itself means simply the seat of an *ἀρχή* or *ἀρχαί* in general, not of archons specifically.¹⁰⁶ Looseness of language may be permitted

παρέχειν τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ (Arcesine, s. iv-iii a.). The context shows, however, that the sense here is not 'deposit' but 'provide' an inscribed copy.

¹⁰³ Cf. Meisterhans *Gramm. att. Inscr.*³ p. 215 §19.

¹⁰⁴ Gulick translates 'in the repositories,' but the word is never found with this meaning. In late Greek it regularly has the meaning 'archives' (below, p. 63 n. 109), but there is no example of the extension of this to include 'stores' in general.

¹⁰⁵ *Parasiten* 417b.

¹⁰⁶ The most frequent use of *ἀρχεῖον* in the classical period is as a generalized term covering any and all *Amtslocale*, whatever their specific names. Both the singular (e.g. Lys. 9.9, where it is equivalent to *συνέδριον*) and the plural (e.g. Xen. Cyr. 1.2.3; Isocr. 5.48; Dem. 10.53) are used in this way. In some cities *τὸ ἀρχεῖον* was the name of a specific building: the seat of all or at least of the most important *ἀρχαί*, or in other words the town hall. There are certain examples of this usage from Hierapytna and Priansos (Michel 16.33-37) and from Epidaurus (*IG* V i 931.33). It is asserted by the scholiast on Aeschn. 2.85 that *τὸ ἀρχεῖον tout court* meant at Athens the common office of the nine archons. This, however, is extremely doubtful, for if this building (on which see Wachsmuth *Stadt Athen* II 353-56; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* II² 161.1; Judeich

in a literary text, but it is to be expected that a law will be precise. In any case, the duties of these cult archons can scarcely have been heavy, and probably arose only on the occasion of an annual festival, so that they had no need of a private office for each one.

If the words of the law are not precise enough to specify that the ἀρχεῖα are those of the archons, *a fortiori* they cannot be taken as designating the offices of magistrates less directly connected with the cult. The only remaining possibility is that the ἀρχεῖα belonged to the parasites:¹⁰⁷ the fact that τοὺς παρασίτους is the subject of the clause might be considered to furnish the needed specification. This view, however, is directly contradicted by Crates, who twice states flatly that the parasites had but one *Amtslocal*, the parasitium.¹⁰⁸

Consequently, if τὰ ἀρχεῖα is not to be removed from the text, either the plural must be taken as meaning the single parasitium, or it must be emended to the singular. In later Greek the plural τὰ ἀρχεῖα acquired a collective sense, 'the archives,' denoting a single collection of documents, and in this sense εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα could be used interchangeably with εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον, which meant strictly 'in the place where the archives are kept.'¹⁰⁹ It might perhaps be thought that in our text the plural is similarly used with a singular meaning, but that usage is both late, the first instance being of the age of Augustus,¹¹⁰ and non-Attic, and in any case strictly confined to the meaning 'archives.'

*Topogr.*² 303.2) had had a specific and generally recognized name, Demosthenes would probably have employed it instead of the periphrasis τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἶκημα (21.85).

¹⁰⁷ This was the view of Preller (122), who translated 'in curiis parasitorum.'

¹⁰⁸ That Athenaeus (235b, d) quotes Crates correctly when he employs the singular ἀρχεῖον is proved by the fact that Pollux (6.35), who also derives from Crates (Rose 457), likewise knew only one ἀρχεῖον of the parasites.

¹⁰⁹ The meaning 'archives' for both the singular and plural is the normal one in later times: for the singular see, e.g., E. Weiss, *Gr. Privatrecht*, I, Leipzig 1923, p. 406.175; Preisigke *Wörterb. s.v.*; *CIG* 3282.11; *OGIS* 483.216; *Syll.*³ 866.36; for the plural, e.g. *Syll.*³ 889.36; *CIG* 2950.4; *P. Oxy.* 1562.20. For the fluctuation of usage between the singular and plural within a single city, see, e.g., *CIG* 3281.14 and 3382.13; 3509.5 and 3517.4; 4300e6 and 10.

I am deeply indebted to Professor H. C. Youtie for generous help in determining the meaning of this word as used in the papyri.

¹¹⁰ The first clear case is Dion. Hal. *Ant. R.* 2.26.2. Two documents of the

Despite this, the plural was certainly taken as singular, or else the singular was read, by the writer of the sentence which follows immediately after Crates' second excerpt from the law (235d) ἐκ τούτου δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐτίθεσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου οἱ παράσιτοι τοῦτο παρασίτιον προσηγορεύετο. Kaibel's punctuation makes Athenaeus attribute this sentence to Crates. If this attribution is correct, then we should be obliged to accept either the emendation or the interpretation, for Crates was an Athenian and the author of a monograph on Athenian sacrifices,¹¹¹ and thus presumably both had access to a full and correct text of the law, and was capable of understanding it correctly. Neither of these alternatives, however, can be brought into accord with the words by which Crates introduces his two quotations from the law. He begins by saying that parasites were the officials chosen for the collection of the sacred grain, and had an *Amtslocal*. In support of this statement he quotes the passage which includes the words τὰ ἀρχεῖα. He then continues ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀρχεῖον ἦν αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ τὰδε γέγραπται 'εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν . . . τοῦ παρασιτίου κτλ.' These words show clearly that by the former quotation he meant only to illustrate the nature and functions of the parasites, while the second *adds* the fact that they had an ἀρχεῖον. If the first quotation had already shown that they possessed this bureau, the second would have been superfluous. Nor can the second quotation have been added to show that the bureau mentioned in the first belonged to the parasites and was called παρασίτιον, for if this were the case Crates' sentence of transition would have been worded differently: the article τό would have been required to refer to the previously mentioned

second century are sometimes falsely cited as earlier examples. In *IG* XII v 1.652.14 τὰ τε ἀρχεῖα κατασ[τησάμενος ὅπως διαμένῃ ἐν τῇ κ]ρατίστῃ κα[τ]α[σ]τάσει, the restoration is quite uncertain, and in any case ἀρχεῖα καταστήσασθαι means 'set up magistrates' (cf. *Syll.*³ 705.22), not 'reorganize archives.' In *Syll.*³ 684.7, 22 ἐμπρήσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀρχείων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων certainly means destruction of the public buildings and the documents which they contained, and is not simply tautological.

¹¹¹ L. Preller, *Demeter u. Persephone*, Hamburg 1837, p. 61.12; Wilamowitz *Comm.* 10; Latte *Hermes* 1915. 386–88; Jacoby *RE* 'Krates' (12); Kroll *RE* 'Krates' (16) 1635.66. But cf. for a different view Wachsmuth, *De Cratete Mallota*, diss. Lips. 1860, p. 33.

ἀρχεῖον, and καί would have been omitted or placed before the emphatic word αὐτῶν.¹¹²

Thus Crates saw no reference to the parasitium in his first quotation from the law. Hence, first, he certainly did not read τὸ ἀρχεῖον, for in that case he must either have seen a reference to the parasitium, or else have distinguished for the reader between this ἀρχεῖον and that of the parasites. The sentence which depends on a reference to the parasitium in the first clause of the law is based, accordingly, not on a singular τὸ ἀρχεῖον which was later corrupted to the plural, but on the plural which the author interpreted as singular in meaning. Second, Crates is not the author of this sentence,¹¹³ which can be nothing but a gloss added by a scholar subsequent to Crates who was troubled by the obscurity of the words τὰ ἀρχεῖα.¹¹⁴ However, the meaning

¹¹² Cf. Kühner-Gerth II³ ii pp. 253-55 §524.

¹¹³ This does not necessarily require a change in Kaibel's punctuation which makes Athenaeus attribute this sentence to Crates. If Athenaeus found the sentence in this position in his source, he might very well have been misled into thinking it was Crates'.

¹¹⁴ The date at which this comment was added to the text of Crates cannot be determined exactly, but it can be placed within certain limits. The text of Athenaeus as we have it was reworked and abridged in the sixth or seventh century, as Kaibel has shown (vol. I of his ed., pp. xxv-xl; defended against Wissowa by K. Mengis, *Die schriftstellerische Technik*, etc. [Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kult. d. Altert. X 5], Paderborn 1920, pp. 114-24; cf. Wilamowitz, *SBBerl.* 1923.50). This person, however, although he may have made some minor interpolations (cf. Kaibel *l.c.* xl), would certainly not have paid close enough attention to the exact meaning of such passages as this to give us the comment. Nor does Athenaeus himself seem to have had enough interest in this sort of problem to have bothered over the precise meaning of every word, although Knorr (*De par.* 14) attributes the sentence to him. The whole chapter on parasites was taken by Athenaeus from a lexicographical source (above, p. 36 n. 4), and this compilation undoubtedly derived in turn from earlier lexicographers. It is somewhere in this scholarly tradition that the difficulty was noticed and the comment made, probably by a man who wrote at a time when εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα could be used interchangeably, although in a different sense, with εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

This difficulty in deciding what *was* the ἀρχεῖον in question is responsible also for the addition of the words τοῦ ἀρχεῖου after νεώ in 235d. That the words are a gloss is evident from the lack of καί before them. Probably the gloss was placed opposite τοῦ παρασιτίου in the margin, and was attached by error to τοῦ νεώ when it was taken into the text.

given by this scholar for τὰ ἀρχεῖα has been shown to be the only one even remotely possible. One must therefore choose between two alternatives: the plural really does signify the single parasitium and Crates misunderstood the text, or τὰ ἀρχεῖα is completely corrupt. Since Crates was a specialist in these matters, and since all the lexicographical evidence is absolutely opposed to the first alternative, it is perfectly clear that the second is to be accepted. The reading τὰ ἀρχεῖα is to be replaced by a designation of the purpose for which the grain was offered, which is the idea naturally expressed after παρέχειν εἰς.

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THE SON OF NEPTUNE

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

IN CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*, I 63, the sceptic Cotta asks the Epicurean Velleius, who had asserted that the consensus of all men was a sufficient proof of the existence of gods, *Quid de sacrilegis, quid de impiis periurisque dicemus?*

*Tubulus si Lucius umquam,
si Lupus aut Carbo aut Neptuni filius,*

ut ait Lucilius [1312-1313 Marx], *putasset esse deos, tam periurus aut tam impurus fuisset?* Thus the mss, but Joseph Scaliger (in F. Dousa's edition of Lucilius, 1597), followed by Heindorf, Baiter, Müller, Mayor, and other editors of Cicero, deleted the second *aut*, thus either making *Neptuni filius* an epithet of Carbo, just before and probably entirely worthy of it, or else assuming that it refers to some other proper name immediately following but omitted by Cicero in his quotation. Marx holds that Lucilius added to three human miscreants Polyphemus as a fourth, thereby, as he thinks, enhancing the grim humor of the passage, and he cites in support of his view *Od.* IX 273-278 — where the Cyclopes are said to pay no heed to Zeus and the other gods —, believing that the story was familiar to Romans from their study at school of Livius Andronicus's translation of the *Odyssey*. Whether this question can be definitely settled appears doubtful, yet a discussion does appear admissible of the sons of Neptune, or, more precisely, of Posidon, since the concept of filiation here introduced is Greek rather than Roman, and the mythological instances of sons of the sea-god are also very largely Greek.

At the outset several features of Posidon and his progeny should be noticed. In the first place they were very numerous, for, without claiming an exhaustiveness which the recondite character of many of the mythographic, lexicographic, and scholiastic sources makes difficult, I have been able to assemble in the subjoined lists, as offspring

of Posidon, about ¹ 157 individuals or groups among the sons, about eleven individuals or groups among the daughters, three horses, one hippocamp (Epicharmus fr. 115 Kaibel), and one ram with a golden fleece! It should, of course, be recognized that concerning the pedigrees of not a few of these there are conflicting ancient traditions. Plutarch observes (*Quaest. conv.* V 10.4) that the birth of Aphrodite from the sea is a poetic allusion to the fertility of sea-animals, and he continues, "Yes, Posidon himself and the marine gods in general they indicate as very fecund and rich in children. And of the brutes themselves there is no land-animal or bird which you could mention which is so fecund as are all the creatures of the deep." Further, Servius (*Aen.* III 241), in discussing the Harpies, remarks that "some call them the daughters of Neptune, who is the father of almost all prodigies; and not without reason, for, according to Thales of Miletus, all things are produced from water." The fertility of Neptune is perhaps in part also to be seen in the number of cases of twins among his progeny, the Platonic *Critias* (113 e) mentioning five sets of twins by one mother, Clito, alone, not to speak of several other sets, such as Neleus and Pelias, Cteatus and Eurytus, and the Aloidae. As in some other families in which birth-control is neglected, so in the Posidon household careful genetic preparation for matrimony and parenthood seems to have been largely ignored, and the protective influences of home life to have been as completely lacking as among the fishes themselves — a fact to be remembered when we observe the subsequent behavior of certain of these gentry in their mature life.

A second notable feature about Posidon's offspring is the fact that they include several biological monstrosities. Not only does the passage just quoted from Servius attest this, but also the scholia to the *Odyssey*, IX 106, say: "why wonder that this wild being [the Cyclops] was begotten by Posidon? Just as his other scions, like the sea itself, are born wild or monstrous or out of the ordinary (*παρηλλαγμένα*)." Apollonius Rhodius says (IV 316-318) that the Colchians took the ships of the Argonauts for wild beasts coming forth from the sea with its great monsters (*πόντον μεγακήτεος*), and

¹ Exact figures can hardly be reached because of the difficulty of knowing when one personage is identical with some other in the list.

the accounts of the whale and of various large fishes in the fifth book of Oppian's *Halieutica* point in the same direction, as do the sea-serpents in the Laocoön story (Virg. *Aen.* II 203-227) and the monsters sent against Andromeda and Hippolytus. Further, among Posidon's children are the hundred-armed Aegaeon, the Siamese twins, Cteatus and Eurytus, the one-eyed Cyclops, the snake-formed Cychreus, the Harpies, and various giants (cf. E. H. Meyer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* III (1909), 2831). Posidon was prone to violent amours with mortals or with nymphs. Hyginus, *Fab.* 157, has a long list of his lovers, and Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.32) enumerates "the chorus of those ravished by him" (cf. Arnob. IV 26), though he is not more severe in his strictures than Nonnus, XLII 396-415 — whether Nonnus was a pagan or a Christian need not here concern us. Elsewhere we find applied to Posidon the epithets *φντάλμιος* (e.g., Plut. *Quaest. conv.* VIII 8.4; also various inscriptions) and *γενέθλιος* (Paus. III 15.10). In addition, his intercourse with animals and with wild, intermediate beings led to the procreation of the horses Arion, Pegasus, and Scyphius (cf. Schol. Dan. *Georg.* III 122), the hippocamp, and the famous ram with the golden fleece. The nearest approach to these vagaries of marine love is to be found in the many and somewhat unprepossessing "sons of earth," or *γηγενεῖς*; cf. A. S. Pease on Virg. *Aen.* IV, 178 for monstrosities among such; also Tert. *Apol.* 10; *Ad Nat.* II 12; Min. Fel. 21.7: *ignobiles et ignotos terrae filios nominamus*. Cicero uses the phrase *terrae filius* in no very complimentary sense (*Ad Fam.* VII 9.3; *Ad Att.* I 13.4; cf. Pers. 6.59; Petron. 43.5; Juv. 4.98; A. Otto, *Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 344-345).

Again, the sea is itself associated with injustice — "It is no wonder that Justice should dwell at a distance from the sea," says Oppian (*Halieut.* II 664-665) — and with unfeeling, implacable cruelty. Patroclus says to Achilles (*Il.* XVI 33-35): "Pitiless that thou art, the knight Peleus was not thy father, nor Thetis thy mother, but the grey sea bare thee, and the sheer cliffs, so untoward is thy spirit," and the theme is reëchoed elsewhere (e.g., Propert. III 7.15; Sen. *H.O.* 1251-1253 (cf. *Phaedr.* 274); Plut. *De Soll. Anim.* 14: "since the sea brings forth nothing kindly or gentle"; Theophylact. *Ep.* 28 (*Epistol. Gr.* 771 Hercher): *θαλάττης ἀπηνέστερος ἔσση*; and in other

passages noted by A. S. Pease on Virg. *Aen.* IV 366). Since the name of the god is often, especially in Latin, used by metonymy for the sea itself (cf. Cic. *De Or.* III 167: *Neptunum* [sc. *appellare*] *pro mari*; Serv. *Aen.* I 126: *plerumque poetae Neptunum pro mari ponunt*; L. Delatte in *L'Antiq. classique*, IV (1935), 45), it is not surprising that he should also be described as *immanis*, *intolerandus*, and *vesanus* (Plaut. *Trin.* 826), and that such qualities should be similarly associated with his sons; out of many cases I cite as examples Amycus, cruel to strangers and most arrogant of men (Ap. Rhod. II 1-18), Antaeus, who killed strangers by wrestling with them and who is called by Ap. Rhod. IV 1396, ὑβριστής (an epithet applied by Diod. V 55.6 and Phot. *Bibl.* 133 a Bekk. to Sylaeus, or to those famous characters Procrustes and Sinis), and Halirrhothius, of whom Ares remarks (Liban. *Decl.* 8.5): ὅς δὲ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων θυγατέρας δυστυχεῖς ἀπέφηνε τὸ Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι παῖς ἐφόδιον πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἔχων. Significant is a group of general statements of somewhat similar tenor: Cornut. *N.D.* 22, p. 44 Lang: "On account of the observed violence of the sea, all violent men and those who harbor bold designs, like the Cyclops and the Laestrygonians and the Aloidae, were fabled to be the children of Posidon" (cf. Schol. *Il.* XVI 34; Schol. Pind. *Isthm.*, hypoth., II 350 Abel); Gell. XV 21: "Men excelling in virtue, wisdom, and might the poets have called the sons of Jupiter, for example, Aeacus, Minos, and Sarpedon; the most bold and harsh and those estranged from all human feeling, the Cyclops and Cercyon and Sciron and the Laestrygonians, as though they were born from the sea, they have described as sons of Neptune." Sext. *Emp. Adv. Rhet.* 104 groups the three killers of strangers (ξενοκτόνοι), Busiris, Amycus, and Antaeus. Olympiodorus, however, in his commentary on Plato's *Gorgias* (47.5, p. 226 Norvin), distinguishes the sons of Zeus, Posidon, and Pluto solely by the areas, heavenly, chthonic, and intermediate, with which they are concerned. Justin Martyr (2 *Apol.* 5) says that poets and mythologists, ignorant of the real nature of demons, ascribed their acts to Zeus and his offspring and the offspring of his brothers Posidon and Pluto. It is significantly remarked, however, by the scholiast on *Il.* I 544, that Zeus is the parent of many mortals and some immortals; certain other gods, such as Cronus, only of immortals, but Posidon is the parent of no gods,

but only of mortals, such as the Cyclops, Ephialtes, Otus, Pelias, and Neleus.

The greed of the sea and of those who follow it is proverbial; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 825: *nam te omnes . . . avidis moribus commemorant* [sc. *Neptunum*]; Appian (*B.C.* VIII 86) remarks, “. . . the sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain”; and other examples of this commonplace are collected by K. F. Smith on Tibullus, I 3.37-40. Perhaps connected with this greed is the faithlessness and treachery of Neptune, whom Plautus (*M.G.* 832) calls *infidus*, though the uncertainties of marine weather might be enough to account for this expression. But Plato in the *Laws* (IV 705 a) had already observed that nearness to the sea fills the markets of a city with foreign merchandise and retail trading and breeds in men’s souls knavish and tricky ways, thus rendering the city faithless and loveless, not only to itself but to the rest of the world as well; hence, he says, cities should be withdrawn from actual contact with the sea; cf. Aristot. *Pol.* VII 6; Cic. *Rep.* II 6, who emphasizes the dangers from unexpected attacks by sea. Cicero had, of course, lived during the period of the ravages of the Cilician pirates — Pompey had cleared the sea of piracy only about a dozen years before Cicero began the *De Republica*, so that his statements are practical as well as theoretical. Appian remarks of these pirates (*Mithrid.* 92) that they preferred to do wrong rather than to suffer it, and for this purpose chose the sea rather than the land.

The character of sailors in antiquity was often not above reproach, and their reputation was in keeping with it (cf. the implications of [Hom.] *Epigr.* 8; Hor. *Serm.* I 5.4; Juv. 8.174; Orig. *C. Cels.* I 62-63), and when these men degenerate into piracy they seem still accurately to preserve the characteristics of Posidon’s sons. The assumption that strangers arriving by sea might be pirates is mentioned from the time of Homer onward (*Od.* III 71-74 = IX 252-255 = *Hymn. Apoll.* 452-455; Thuc. I 5; Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon.* III 214; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* II 29). At first the moral censure of such practices appears to have been but slight, but by Plato’s time the cruelty and lawlessness of piracy were recognized (*Legg.* VII 823 e) and condemned. It is to be observed that Taphius was the ancestor of the rather piratical Taphians (Apollod. *Bibl.* II 4.5-6), and that

others of Posidon's sons had no better reputations. The comparison, then, of unprincipled men to pirates (e.g., Juv. 8.93-94: *Capito et Numitor . . . piratae Cilicum* — where the scholiast explains *qui piratas olim Cilicas expoliaverint*) was as appropriate a figure in antiquity as in more recent times. That persons not yet proved to be pirates yet arriving by sea, unknown and from an unknown source, should be regarded askance was but natural, and the last six books of Virgil's *Aeneid* well describe the opposition of the natives of Latium to such newcomers. Servius (III 421; repeated by the Third Vatican Mythographer, 5.5) declares, "hence it comes about that as often as parents are lacking we have recourse to general expressions. Thus we call foreigners, of whose parents we are ignorant, 'sons of Neptune.'" This uncertainty about sea-faring strangers, varying from open contempt on the one hand to more or less concealed fear on the other, may find expression in related phrases of mystery. The corpse of a "man of the sea" (*ἄνδρα . . . θαλάσσιον*), five plethra in length, is mentioned by Pausanias (X 4.6) as cast ashore at Cadiz. The "men of bronze" coming from the sea, whom an oracle predicted to King Psammetichus (Hdt. II 152), turned out to be Ionian and Carian bronze-mailed pirates. An oracle related by Procopius (IV 8.14) told of a "host from the waters" (*στρατὸν ἐξ ὑδάτων*). The Telchines, who were, incidentally, sons of Neptune, are called by some "sons of the sea" (*θαλάσσης παῖδες*), according to the additions to the *Etymologicum Magnum* published by Müller in his *Mélanges de litt. gr.* (1868), 417. More interesting is a *defixio* published in the *CIL*, VI 33899 (=Dessau 8750), in which an excited enemy of one Praeseticus, the son of Aselle, invokes a superhuman avenger to bind and destroy Praeseticus, that "son of the sea" (*filium mares* [sic]), "who lives in the ninth ward, now, now, quick, quick" (*ede ede tacy tacy*). Of interest in this connection is a passage quoted by J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I³ (1911), 56-57, n., from a history of the new world by G. Benzoni: "When the Indians saw the very great cruelties which the Spaniards committed everywhere on entering Peru, not only would they never believe us to be Christians and children of God, as boasted, but not even that we were born on the earth, or generated by a man and born of a woman; so fierce an animal they concluded must be the offspring of the sea, and therefore called us *Viracocchie*,

for in their language they call the sea *cocchie* and the froth *vira*; thus they think that we are a congelation of the sea and have been nourished by the froth [cf. the name Halirrhothius]"; and much more to the same purpose.

So far our references have been largely mythical or legendary, but the epithet "son of Neptune" or "son of the sea" might be applied to historic characters. Plautus (*M.G.* 15), in a bombastic passage, refers to a general as *Neptuni nepos*. When Silius (I 638-639) makes a speaker say, "We have looked on Hannibal, a man to whom raging seas or some union of wild beasts gave birth," he is perhaps giving a poetic answer to Dido's charges in the Fourth *Aeneid*, 365-367, that Aeneas — who also, by the way, had arrived uninvited and by sea — was born of harsh cliffs of Caucasus and suckled by Hyrcanian tigresses; but when the cruel Agrippa Postumus (cf. Tac. *Ann.* I 4.3), who was fond of fishing, called himself Neptune (Dio Cass. LV 32.1), or when Cedrenus (*Patr. Gr.* CXXI 573, speaks of the cruelty of the Emperor Julian in close connection with his devotion to the worship of Posidon, we may perhaps detect distant allusions to this same concept. A very corrupt passage in Hyperides (1.31, p. 19 Blass) seems to say that the Athenian βουλῇ acceded to the claim of Alexander the Great to be the son of Zeus, and even of Posidon, if he should choose. More clear, however, is the flattering poem addressed by Demochares to Demetrius Poliorcetes (ap. Athen. VI 253 e), in which he calls that general the son of Posidon and Aphrodite, and E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetr. Poliorc.* (1927), 72-73, finds much numismatic evidence for honor shown by Demetrius to Posidon. P. Plautius Hypsaeus (aedile in 58 B.C.) had put Neptune on his coins and tried to derive his ancestry from him; cf. Hygin. 157.1; S. Weinstock in *PW*, XVI (1935), 2529. Most famous of all is the case of the naval chieftain Sextus Pompey, who used this idea as a weapon against his enemies; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9.7-8: *ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius/ dux fugit ustis navibus* (where Porphyrio remarks: *Neptunium autem ducem Sextum Pompeium . . . quod ad eam stultitiam processisset . . . ut Neptuni filium se diceret et cyanea veste obduceretur*; cf. [Acro] *ad loc.*); Plin. *N.H.* IX 55: *Neptunum patrem adoptante tum sibi Sexto Pompeio*; Auct. *De Vir. ill.* 84.2: *Neptuni se filium professus est eumque bobus auratis et equo placavit*;

Flor. II 18.3: *ob haec tot prospera centum bubus auratis Peloro litavit spirantemque equum cum auro in fretum misit, dona Neptuno, ut se maris rector in suo mari regnare pateretur*; App. B.C. V 100: ἔθνε μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους παῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαννούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῇν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιοῦμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι; Dio Cass. XLVIII 19.2: δόξαν τέ τινα καὶ φρόνημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς ὢν, ὅτι πάσης ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἤρξε, προσέθετο; XLVIII 48.5: καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῇ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε, καὶ ὥς γέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε; Suet. Aug. 16 (sneering at the claim of Sextus): H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Anc. World* (1924), 250-252; W. W. Tarn in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 57, n. 3; S. Weinstock in *PW*, XVI (1935), 2528-2529. That Carbo, then, or some other such violent and faithless person should, in the passage from Lucilius with which I began, have been given this epithet seems more likely than to suppose, with Marx (*ad loc.*) or Münzer (*Hermes*, LV (1920), 427), that a purely mythical figure was, by a somewhat clumsy and crude humor, injected into this list of human miscreants. O. Plasberg (on Cic. *N.D.* I 63, in his *editio maior*) well remarks that Polyphemus, though insolent towards the gods, could not properly be classed with those who denied them, and he therefore suggests some such suppletion as *aut Neptuni filius ullus*. The catalogue which I have compiled also shows that our choice is by no means limited to the one name of Polyphemus.

It is not surprising that a considerable proportion of Posidon's sons who were definitely localized became the eponymous founders of coastal or nearly coastal towns, such as Abderus of Abdera, Al(e)bion of Albion (Strab. IV 6.1), Anthas or Anthius of Anthedon, Astacus of a town of the same name, Byzas of Byzantium, Calaurus of Calauria, Cenchrias and Leches of the two harbors of Corinth, Cromus of Crommyon, Dicaeus of Dicaea, Dyrrachius of Dyrrachium, Eryx of the town so named, Gadirus of Gadira, Halesus of Alsium (cf. Sil. VIII 476), Megareus of Megara, Myton of Mytilene, Nauplius of Nauplia, and Taras of Tarentum. Others are the κτίσται of islands or promontories, as Aeolus, Athos, Chius, Ithacus, Rhodus

(a daughter of Posidon), Sarpedon, Siculus, Sitho, Taphius, Thasus, and Trinac(r)us (Trinacria).² Another such group consists of the eponymous heroes of districts or tribes which are, with some exceptions (Dorus, Paeon, and Phthius), coastal in situation, such as Aon (Aonia), Boeotus, El(e)i(u)s, Messapus, Palaestinus, Phaeax (Phaeacia), and Phocus (Phocis). Connected with the Aegean Sea are perhaps Aegaeon and Aegeus, and Wernicke has pointed out (*PW*, I (1894), 955) the fact that several cities possessing cults of Posidon have names beginning ΑΙΓ.³ May it perhaps be in some of the cases which I have mentioned that the ascription of their foundation is due to the original settlers' having arrived by sea instead of by land, as respectable folk might be expected to come? Hence they may have appeared to the native residents as more or less violent, ruthless, and unreliable in character, as *novensides*, or intruders, in other words, as opposed to the *indigites*. This idea may underlie such a statement as that in Varro, *Men.* 226 B.: *Aegaeos fluctus quam lavit ante aquilo / saevus ubi posuit Neptuni filius urbem*.⁴

NEPTUNI FILII

Abas (Arethusa): Hygin. 157.1; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 520. **Abderus** (Thronia): Pind. *Paeon*, 2.1-5. **Actor** (Agamede?): Hygin. 157.2. **Aegaeon**: Schol. *Il.* I 399; Schol. Townl. *Il.* I 404. **Aegeus**: Hygin. 242.1; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* II 45; Myth. Vat. I, 204. **Aeolus** (Menalippe, Arne): Varr. *R.R.* II 5.5; Hygin. 186.1-9; 252.1; Diod. IV 67.3-6; Schol. *Od.* X 2; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* I 52; cf. also Pind. *Ol.* 13.69. **Agelus** (a nymph): Paus. VII 4.8. **Agenor** (Libya): Apollod. *Bibl.* II 1.4; III 1.1; Hygin. 157.1 (by emendation); Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 5; 158; Schol. Ap. Rhod. III 1185; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* I 338; Schol. Ver. *Aen.* II 82; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 912. **Al(e)bion**:

² For a much later case see Milton's giant Albion, the eponymous hero of England; E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, Am. ed. I (1874), 400. See also in the appendix, s.v. *Alebion*.

³ Names connected with rivers include Asopus, Erginus, Lycus, Melas, and Selinus.

⁴ To the general articles on the subject already mentioned add H. Bulle in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* III (1909), 2831. The subjoined appendix lists such children of Poseidon as I have noted. Names in parentheses are those of their mothers, the traditions upon this point often being very conflicting.

Too late for insertion above I find Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 156-157: τοὺς γὰρ θυμικοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους Ποσειδῶνος καλοῦσι παῖδας καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον.

Mela, II 78 (Albion *cod. A*). Probably = Ialebion of Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.10.
Aloeus (Canace): Apollod. *Bibl.* I 7.4. **Althepus** (Leïs): Paus. II 30.5.
Ampheres (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, II 4 b. **Amphimarus**: Paus. IX 29.6.
Amycus (Melie, Merope, Melope, Pelia, or some other nymph): Theocr. 22.133; Ap. Rhod. II 1-18; Val. Fl. IV 150-153; IV 209; IV 256; Apollod. *Bibl.* I 9.20; Hygin. 17; Schol. Plat. *Legg.* VII 796a; Serv. *Aen.* V 373; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* III 353; Myth. Vat. I, 93; I, 107; II, 140. **Ancaeus** (Astypalaea, Alcthaea): Aristot. fr. 571 Rose (ap. Zenob. 5.71); Ap. Rhod. I 185; Hygin. 14.16; 14.26; 14.32; 18; 157.3; Paus. VII 4.1; Schol. *Od.* XXII 9-12; Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 865. **Antaeus**: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.11; Hygin. 157.4; Schol. Plat. *Legg.* VII 796 a; Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV 1396. **Anthas** (Alcyone): Paus. II 30.8; IX 22.5; Steph. Byz. s. vv. 'Ανθάνα, 'Ανθηδών. **Anthius**: Schol. *Il.* II 508; Eustath. in *Il.* II 508. **Aon**: Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* I 33; in *Achill.* I 10. **Ares**: Schol. *Il.* I 405. **Asopus** (Celusa, Pero): Apollod. *Bibl.* III 12.6; Paus. II 12.4. **Aspledon** (Midea): Paus. IX 38.9. **Astacus** (Olbia): Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Αστακός. **Athos** (Rhodope): Schol. Theocr. 7.76-77, p. 98 Wendel. **Atlas** (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, II 4a. **Augeas**: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.5. **Autochthon** (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, II 4 b. **Azaes** (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, II 4 c.

Bellerophon (Eurynome, Mestra): Hes. *Eoeae*, fr. 7 Evelyn-White; Hygin. 157.1; Aristid. *Or.* 3, p. 40 Dind.; Schol. *Il.* VI 155; Schol. Townl. *Il.* VI 191; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.99 b and c. **Belus** (Libya, Amymon): Apollod. *Bibl.* II 1.4; III 1.1; Hygin. 157.1; 274.22; Hesych. s. v. Βῆλος; Nonn. III 291; Bekk. Anecd. I 225; Schol. *Il.* I 42; Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 5; Schol. Ver. *Aen.* II 82; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 912; Myth. Vat. I, 45; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.25 (cf. 4.36). **Boeotus** (Arne, Antiope, Melanippe, Menalippe, Euryale): Varr. *R.R.* II 5.5; Plut. *De Fluv.* 2.2; Hygin. 157.1; 186.1-9; 252.1; Schol. *Il.* II 494; Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1134; Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 15; Steph. Byz. s. v. Βοιωτία; Orion, s. v. Βοιωτία; Etym. M. s. vv. Βοιωτία, Βοιωτός; Etym. Gud. s. v. Βοιωτός. **Busiris** (Anippe, Libya, Lysianassa): Isocr. *Busir.* 10; Plut. *Parall.* 38; Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.11; Hygin. 56; Schol. Ap. Rhod. IV 1396; Schol. Dan. *Georg.* III 5; Prob. in *Georg.* III 4; Hier. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 553; Aug. *C.D.* XVIII 12. **Butes**: Hes. *Eoeae*, fr. 72 Evelyn-White (ap. Eustath. in *Il.* XIII 44); Etym. M. s. v. Βουτίδης. **Byzas** (Ceroessa; cf. Procop. *De Aedif.* I 5.1); Etym. M. s. v. Βύζαντες. **Byzinus**: Zenob. II 63; Diogenian. Vindob. I 99.

Calaurus: Steph. Byz. s. v. Καλαύρεια. **Caucon** (Astydamia): Ael. *V. H.* I 24. **Celaenus** (Celaeno): Strab. XII 8.18. **Cenchrias** (Pirene): Paus. II 2.3. **Cepheus**: Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 150. **Cercyon**: Paus. I 14.3; Gell. XV 21. **Chios** (a nymph): Paus. VII 4.8. **Chiron** (Philyra): Schol. *Il.* IV 219. **Chrysaor** (Medusa): Hygin. praef. 40, p. 5 Rose; 151.2. **Chryses** (Chrysogenia): Paus. IX 36.4. **Corynetes**: Hygin. 38.1. **Cromus**: Paus. II 1.3. **Cteatus** (Molione): Pind. *Ol.* 10.26-27; Apollod. *Bibl.* II. 7.2; Schol. *Il.* XI 709; XI 750; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.29 b; Suid. s. v. οὐδὲν 'Ηρακλῆς. **Cychreus** (Salamis): Apollod. *Bibl.* III 12.7; Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 451.

Cyclops: *Od.* IX 412; IX 519; *Eur. Cycl.* 21; 262; 286; 413; *Ov. M.* XIII 854; *Gell.* XV 21; *Lucian, Dial. marin.* 1.1; 2.1; *Schol. Il.* I 544; XVI 34; *Schol. Od.* IX 106; IX 311; IX 345; *Serv. Ecl.* 2.25; *Commodian. Instr.* 10. See also Polyphemus. **Cycnus** (Calyce, Harpale, Scamandrodice): *Sen. Agam.* 215; *Hygin.* 157.2; 273.12; *Quint. Smyrn.* IV 153-154; *Schol. Il.* I 38 (cf. vol. 1, p. xxxvi Dind.); *Schol. Pind. Ol.* II 147; *Schol. Theocr.* 16.49; *Liban. Laudat.* 3.10; *Phot. Lex.* p. 575 Porson.

Daphnis: *Philargyr.* in *Ecl.* 3.12 **Delphus** (Melaena): *Schol. vet. Aesch. Eum.* 16. **Dercynus:** *Apollod. Bibl.* II 5.10; *Mela,* II 78. **Diaprepes** (Clito): *Plat. Critias,* 114 c. **Dicaeus:** *Steph. Byz. s. v. Δίκαια;* *Conon ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 133 a 38 Bekk. **Dictys** (Agamede): *Hygin.* 157.2 (by emendation from Dycitis). **The Doliones:** *Ap. Rhod.* I 952. **Dorus:** *Serv. Aen.* II 27; *Steph. Byz. s. v. Δῶρος.* **Dryas:** *Lact. Plac.* in *Theb.* IX 856: *Dryas Neptuni filius fuit et Iovis et Mercurii* (cf. Orion, below). **Dyrrach(i)us** (Mellisa): *App. B. C.* II 39; *Steph. Byz. s. v. Δυρράχιον.*

Edonus (Helle): *Hygin. Astron.* II 20. **Elasippus** (Clito): *Plat. Critias,* 114 c. **Eleius** (Eurypyle): *Aristot. fr.* 639 Rose (ap. *Schol. Il.* XI 688); cf. *Schol. Il.* XI 699. **Eleus** (Eurycyda): *Paus.* V 1.8. **Elis** (Eurypyle): *Conon ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 133 a 19 Bekk.; *Etym. M. s. v. Ἑλīs.* **Enyalius** (Libya): *Lydus, De Mens.* I 12, p. 4 W.; other references cited by Jessen in *PW,* V (1905), 2653. **Ephialtes** (Iphimedia): *Hom. Od.* XI 305-308; *Hes. Eoeae,* fr. 6 Evelyn-White (ap. *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* I 482); *Hygin.* 28.1-3; *Cornut. N. D.* 22, p. 44 Lang; *Schol. Il.* I 544; V 385; *Serv. Aen.* VI 582; *Gloss. Verg.* p. 461, no. 287 Hagen; *Myth. Vat.* I, 83. **Epopeus** (Canace, Alcyone): *Apollod. Bibl.* I 7.4; *Hygin.* 157.2 (by emendation). **Erginus:** *Ap. Rhod.* I 185-187; *Val. Fl.* I 415; *Hygin.* 14.16. **Ergiscus** (Aba): *Etym. M. s. v. Ἐργίσκη;* *Suid. s. v. Ἐργίσκη.* **Eryx** (Aphrodite): *Apollod. Bibl.* II 5.10; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* I 570; X 551; *Serv. Aen.* V 24; *Schol. Ver. Aen.* X 551; *Myth. Vat.* I, 94; II, 156. **Eumelus** (Clito): *Plat. Critias,* p. 114 b (= Gadirus). **Eumolpus** (Chione): *Isocr. Paneg.* 68; *Apollod. Bibl.* III 15.4; *Hygin.* 46.2; 157.4 (by emendation); 273.11; *Paus.* I 38.2; *Schol. Il.* XVIII 490; *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 854; *Harpocr. and Suid. s. v. Βοηδρόμια;* *Etym. M. s. v. βοηδρομείν.* **Euphemus** (Europe, Eurotas, Celaeno, Mecionice): *Pind. Pyth.* 4.44-45; 4.173-175; *Ap. Rhod.* I 179-181; *Val. Fl.* I 363-365; *Paus.* V 17.9; *Hygin.* 157.3; 173.1; *Tzetz. ad Lycophr.* 886; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4.15; 4.306; 4.455. **Eurypylus** (Astypalaea, Celaeno, Libya): *Pind. Pyth.* 4.33; *Apollod. Bibl.* II 7.1; *Schol. Il.* XIV 255; *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* IV 1561; *Schol. Theocr.* 7.5-9, p. 79 Wendel; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4.15; 4.57; 4.61. **Eurytus** (Molione): *Pind. Ol.* 10.28; *Apollod. Bibl.* II 7.2; *Schol. Il.* XI 709; XI 750; *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 10.29; *Suid. s. v. οὐδὲν Ἡρακλῆς.* **Evaemon** (Clito): *Plat. Critias,* 114 b.

Gadirus (Clito): *Plat. Critias,* 114 b (= Eumelus). **Gergaphus:** *Etym. M. s. v. Ἀργαφίη.* **Glaucus** (Naïs): *Athen.* VII 296 c.

Halesus: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* VIII 285. **Halirrhothius** (Euryte, Bathyclia): Eur. *El.* 1260-1262; Dem. *C. Aristocr.* 76; Marmor Parium, 5; Apollod. *Bibl.* III 14.2; Paus. I 21.4; Liban. *Decl.* 7.1; 7.4; 7.11; 8.5; 8.8; Bekk. *Anecd.* I 377; Schol. *Il.* XVIII 490; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* X 83; Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 229 d; Schol. Dan. *Georg.* I 18; Harpocr. and Suid. s. v. 'Αλιρρόθιος. **Hellen** (Antiopa): Hygin. 157.1. **Hilaon**: Hesych. s. v. 'Ιλίων; Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1622, 45. **Hippothoön** (Alope): Hygin. 187.1-6; 252.2; Paus. I 5.2; I 39.3; Bekk. *Anecd.* I 380; Schol. Nicand. *Alex.* 130; Hesych. s. v. 'Ιπποθώωντειον; Harpocr. and Suid. s. v. 'Αλόπη; Phot. *Lex.* p. 111 Porson; Etym. M. s. v. 'Ιππιόθων. **Hopleus** (Canace): Apollod. *Bibl.* I 7.4. **Hyperenor** (Alcyone): Apollod. *Bibl.* III 10.1. **Hyperes** (Alcyone): Paus. II 30.8. **Hyrieus** (Alcyone): [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 23; Apollod. *Bibl.* III 10.1; Hygin. 157.1 (by emendation); *Astron.* II 21; Anon. in Arat. p. 230 Maass; Schol. Arat. 256, p. 389 Maass; Schol. *Il.* XVIII 486.

Ialebion: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.10; probably = Alebion, q. v. **Iamus**: Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.59. **Idas**: Schol. *Il.* IX 557. **Immaradus**: Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 854. **Ithacus** (Amphimele): Etym. M. s. v. 'Ιθακος.

Laestrygon: Hes. fr. in *Oxyr. Pap.* no. 1358, 2, lines 26-27 (p. 604 Evelyn-White); Eustath. in *Il.* X 81. The Laestrygonians are so called by Gell. XV 21; Cornut. *N. D.* 22, p. 44 Lang; Schol. *Il.* XVI 34. **Lamus**: Schol. *Od.* X 81. **Leches** (Pirene): Paus. II 2.3. **Lelex** (Libya): Paus. I 44.3. **Lycus** (Celaeno): [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 23; Apollod. *Bibl.* III 10.1; Hygin. 31.6; 32.1; 76; 157.3; *Astron.* II 21; Schol. *Il.* XVIII 486; Anon. in Arat. p. 230 Maass.

Megareus (Oenope): Hygin. 157.2; Paus. I 39.5-6; Philargyr. in *Ecl.* 6.61. **Melas** (a nymph): Plut. *De Fluv.* 16.1; Paus. VII 4.8. **Messapus**: Virg. *Aen.* VII 691 (and Serv. ad loc.); IX 523; X 353-354; XII 128; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* IX 121. **Mestor** (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, 114 c. †**Metus** (Melite — emending *et* to *ex*): Hygin. 157.4. **Minyas** (Hermippe, Chrysogone, Cal-lirrhoë, Tritogenia): Hes. *Eoeae*, fr. 84 Evelyn-White (= Schol. *Od.* XI 326); Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 230; III 1094-1095; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14.5; *Pyth.* 4.120; 4.122; Tzetz. in Lycophr. 874; cf. Fiehn in *PW*, XV (1932), 2015-2018. **Mneseus** (Clito): Plat. *Critias*, 114 b. The **Moliones** (Molione): see Cteatus and Eurytus. **Myton** (Mytilene): Steph. Byz. s. v. Μυτιλήνη.

Nauplius (Amymone): Ap. Rhod. I 136-138; Strab. VIII 6.2; Apollod. *Bibl.* II 1.5; II 7.4; Hygin. 14.11; Paus. II 38.2; Eur. *I. A.* 198; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 54; Schol. Ver. *Aen.* II 82; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* II 433; Myth. Vat. II, 200. **Nausithoüs** (Periboea): *Od.* VII 56-57 (and Schol.). **Neleus** (Tyro): Hes. *Eoeae*, fr. 13 Evelyn-White (= Schol. *Od.* XII 69); Diod. VI 7.3; Hygin. 157.3; Paus. IV 2.5; X 29.5; [Liban.] *Progymnasm.* 39; Schol. *Il.* I 544; X 334; XI 674; XXIII 514; Schol. *Od.* II 120; XI 281; XI 287; XI 290; XII 69; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.43; 9.44; *Pyth.* 4.190; 4.306; Suid. s. v. οὐκ ἐτός. **Nireus**

(Canace): Apollod. *Bibl.* I 7.4. **Nycteus** (Celaeno): Hygin. 157.3; *Astron.* II 21; Myth. Vat. I, 234.

Oeoclus (Ascra): Paus. IX 29.1. **Onchestus**: Paus. IX 26.5; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* VII 272. **Orion** (Euryale): Hes. *Astron.* fr. 4 Evelyn-White (= [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 32); Apollod. *Bibl.* I 4.3; Hygin. *Astron.* II 34; Schol. *Il.* XVIII 486 (Διὸς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς; cf. Dryas, above); Aratus Latinus, p. 247 Maass; Schol. Arat. 322-323, p. 405 Maass; Myth. Vat. I, 33. **Otus** (Iphimedia): *Od.* XI 305-306; Hes. *Eoëae*, fr. 6 Evelyn-White (= Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 482); Hygin. 28.1-3; Cornut. *N. D.* 22, p. 44 Lang; Schol. *Il.* I 544; V 385; Serv. *Aen.* VI 582; Gloss. Verg. p. 461, no. 287 Hagen; Myth. Vat. I, 83.

Paeon (Helle): [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 19; Hygin. *Astron.* II 20. **Palaestinus**: Plut. *De Fluv.* 11.1. **Parnassus**: Paus. X 6.1. †**Pelago** (Larisa): Schol. Dan. *Aen.* II 197; his name is uncertain, perhaps identical with the next. **Pelagus** (Larisa): Dion. Hal. *Ant.* I 17.3; Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 580. **Peleus** (†Arprites; text uncertain): Hygin. 157.4. **Pelias** (Tyro): Hes. *Eoëae*, fr. 13 Evelyn-White (= Schol. *Od.* XII 69); Diod. VI 7.3; Hygin. 157.3; Ael. *V. H.* XII 42; [Liban.] *Progymnasm.* 39; Schol. *Il.* I 544; X 334; *Od.* II 120; XI 290; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.43; *Pyth.* 4.190; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* III 516; V 336; Myth. Vat. II, 135; Suid. s. v. οὐκ ἐρός. **Peratus** (Calchinia): Paus. II 5.7. **Periclymenus** (Astypale, Chloris): Pind. *Pyth.* 4.175; Hygin. 10.2; 157.3; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.57. **Phaeax** (Cercyra): Steph. Byz. s. v. Φαίαξ; Schol. *Od.* V 35; XIII 130. The Phaeacians are also called ἀπόγονοι Ποσειδῶνος by Aristot. fr. 173 Rose (ap. Schol. *Od.* IX 333; IX 345). **P(h)alantus**: [Acro] in Hor. *C.* I 28.29. **Phaunus**: Nonn. XXXVII 414. **Phineus**: Apollod. *Bibl.* I 9.21. **Phocus** (Pronoë): Paus. II 4.3; Schol. *Il.* II 517. **Phorbas**: Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 854; Harpocr. and Suid. s. v. Φορβαντεῖον. **Phorcus** (Thoösa): Schol. Dan. *Aen.* V 824; Myth. Vat. I, 129; II, 167. **Phthius** (Larisa): Dion. Hal. *Ant.* I 17.3; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* II 197. **Polyphemus** (Thoösa): *Od.* I 68-73; Aristot. fr. 172 Rose (= Schol. *Od.* IX 106); fr. 173 (= Schol. *Od.* IX 345); Apollod. *Epit.* 7.4; Hygin. 125.3; 157.4; Nonn. XXXIX 264; XXXIX 279; Schol. Theocr. 13.7-9, p. 259 Wendel; Serv. *Aen.* III 678. See also Cyclops. **Poltyis**: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.9. **Procrustes**: Hygin. 38.3. **Proteus**: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.9; Schol. *Il.* IX 383. **Pterilaus** (Hippothoë): Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 747.

Sarpedon: Apollod. *Bibl.* II 5.9. **Scelmis**: Nonn. XIV 39-40; XXXVII 164-165; XXXVII 263-264; XXXVII 323; XXXVII 332; XXXVII 342. Cf. Telchines, below. **Scirus**: Gell. XV 21; Hesych. s. v. σκυρὰς Ἀθηνᾶ. **Selinus**: Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐλκη. **Siculus**: Solin. 5.7; Mart. Cap. VI 646. **Sinis**: Bacchyl. 17.19-22. **Sitho** (Ossa): [Socrat.] *Ep.* 30.6 (*Epistol. Gr.* p. 631 Hercher); Conon ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 132 b Bekk. **Syleus**: Conon ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 133 a Bekk.

Taphius (Hippothoë): Apollod. *Bibl.* II 4.5; Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 932.
Taras (a nymph): Aristot. fr. 590 Rose (in Poll. IX 80); Paus. X 10.8; Serv. *Aen.* III 551; *Georg.* IV 125; Prob. in *Georg.* II 197; Hesych. s. v. *Τάρας*; Myth. Vat. I, 206. **Telchines**: Nonn. XXVII 106-107 (cf. Scelmis, above); also addit. to the Etym. M. in Müller, *Mél. de litt. gr.* p. 417: Τελχίνες . . . τούτους οὐ μὲν θαλάσσης παῖδας φασί. **Teleboas**: Athen. XI 498c; Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 932. **Thasus**: Apollod. *Bibl.* III 1.1; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 517. **Theseus** (Aethra): Bacchyl. 16.33-36; Plat. *Rep.* III 391c; Eur. *Hipp.* 1169, al.; Isocr. *Hel.* 18; 23; Cic. *N. D.* III 45; III 76; Varr. *Menipp.* 226; Plut. *Thes.* 6.1; 36.3; *Parall.* 34; Hygin. 37.1-3; *Astron.* II 5; Paus. I 17.3; Stat. *Theb.* XII 588; XII 665; Lucian, *Cynic.* 13; Schol. *Il.* III 144; Schol. *Od.* XI 631; Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 45. **Tityus** (Elara): addit. to the Etym. M. in Müller, *Mél. de litt. gr.* p. 107. **Trinac(r)us**: Steph. Byz. s. v. *Τρινακρία*; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 467. **Triop(a)s** (Canace): Callim. *Hymn.* 6.96-100; Diod. V 61.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* I 7.4. **Triton** (Amphitrite, Salacia): Hygin. praef. 18, p. 4 Rose; Serv. *Aen.* I 144; Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 885.

NEPTUNI FILIAE

Aethusa: *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* p. 570 Evelyn-White; Paus. IX 20.1. **Athena** (Coryphe, Polyphé, Tritonis): Paus. I 14.6; Bekk. *Anecd.* I 208; Harpocr. s. v. *ἱππία* Ἀθηνᾶ; Phot. *Lex.* p. 112 Porson; Suid. s. v. *ἱππία* Ἀθηνᾶ; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 267; Etym. M. s. v. *ἱππία*. **Charybdis** (Terra): Schol. Dan. *Aen.* III 420. **Despoina** — not the real name, which is not divulged (Demeter): Paus. VIII 25.6-7; VIII 37.9; VIII 42.1. **Eschatiotis**: Etym. M. s. v. Ἑσχατιῶτις. **Evadne** (†Lena, Pitane): Pind. *Ol.* 6.29-30 (and Schol.); Hygin. 157.2. The **Harpies**: Serv. *Aen.* III 241; Myth. Vat. III, 5, 5. **Lamia**: Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 9. **Leuconoë** (Themisto): Hygin. 157.1. **Rhodus** (Amphitrite): Herophilus ap. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.24. †**Urea**: Hygin. 161. [Nerea: Philargyr. in *Ecl.* 6.35. A misunderstanding of the accusative *Nerea* as a feminine nominative.]

EQUI

Arion (Demeter, Erinyes, Terra): Paus. VIII 25.8; Stat. *Theb.* VI 301-303; Hesych. s. vv. Ἀρίων, Ἴππειος Ποσειδῶν (κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ὅτι ἵππους ἐγέννησε Ποσειδῶν, Ἀρίωνα Σκύφιον Πήγασον); Schol. *Il.* XXIII 346; Schol. Dan. *Georg.* III 122; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* IV 43; VI 279; VI 316; XI 443. **Pegasus** (Medusa): Aristot. fr. 172 Rose (= Schol. *Od.* IX 106; cf. IX 311; IX 345); Hygin. praef. 40, p. 5 Rose; 151.2; *Astron.* II 18; Cornut. *N. D.* 22, p. 44 Lang; Schol. Arat. 205, p. 376 Maass; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* II 616; *Georg.* III 122; Lact. Plac. in *Theb.* IV 61; VI 316; Hesych. s. v. Ἴππειος Ποσειδῶν. **Scyphius**: Hesych. s. v. Ἴππειος Ποσειδῶν; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246. A **hippocamp**: Epicharm. fr. 115 Kaibel. The ram with the golden fleece (Theophane): Hygin. 3.1; 188.4.

LIGHT CAST BY ST. JEROME ON CERTAIN PALAEOGRAPHICAL POINTS *

BY KARL KELCHNER HULLEY

THE importance of the works of St. Jerome as a source of information on palaeographical matters is well attested by the use which numerous scholars have made of statements found in his writings. As familiar examples, one may cite his famous reference to uncial letters¹ and his rather disdainful remarks about codices of purple parchment lettered in gold and silver ink.² On the other hand, some of the evidence which he affords on certain points seems to have received less attention than it deserves; some of it indeed appears to have been overlooked altogether. In the belief, therefore, that it will be worth while to call attention to this material, I shall attempt to present it in the following paragraphs.

I. MATERIALS USED IN LETTER-WRITING

There is some difference of opinion among scholars on the question of the use of parchment as well as papyrus in letter-writing. Schubart maintains that both materials were in use for this purpose from the time of Cicero³ — a view with which the statements of Sanders seem

* The material of this article is drawn largely from my doctoral dissertation, written under the direction of Professor A. S. Pease of Harvard University. To him I am indebted for many suggestions and for references to the works of St. Augustine cited herein.

¹ *Praefat. in Lib. Iob* (P.L. 28, 1083). References to the works of Jerome are cited from the following editions: I. Hilberg, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae: C.S.E.L.*, vols. LIV–LVI (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910–1918); G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. III, parts 2 and 3 (Maredsous and Oxford, 1897–1903); S. Reiter, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi In Hieremiam Prophetam Libri Sex: C.S.E.L.*, vol. LIX (Vienna and Leipzig, 1913); for works of Jerome not included in the editions mentioned above: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vols. 23–29 (Paris, 1845–1846, following the second edition of D. Vallarsi, 1766–1772).

² *Loc. cit.*; *In Zach.* 2 (P.L. 25, 1467; V. 841); *Epp.* 22, 32, 1; 107, 12.

³ W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*² (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), p. 20.

to agree.⁴ Opposed to this view is the opinion of Birt, who holds that letters were not written on parchment in classical times,⁵ and that of Gardthausen, who agrees substantially with Birt, denying that there is any evidence for the use of parchment in the correspondence of Cicero and Pliny, yet making allowance for its occasional use in letter-writing in general.⁶ Birt, moreover, bases his opinion on the following passage from one of Jerome's letters, stating that it contains the earliest reference to the use of parchment for letter-writing:

Quibus hoc primum queror . . . cur tam parvam epistulam miseritis . . . Chartam defuisse non puto. . . . Et si aliqui Ptolomaeus maria clausisset, tamen rex Attalus membranas e Pergamo miserat, ut penuria chartae pelibus pensaretur.⁷

From this passage, although it is somewhat facetious in tone, it is reasonable to infer that Jerome and the friends whom he is addressing regarded papyrus as the material on which letters were customarily written. Parchment, however, is suggested as something which might be used as a substitute, especially for some good reason, such, for example, as the one he himself mentions — a shortage of papyrus.

With this statement of Jerome's, one may compare the following remark made by St. Augustine in one of his letters:

Non haec epistola sic inopiam chartae indicat ut membranas abundare testatur. Tabellas eburneas quas habeo, avunculo tuo cum litteris misi. Tu enim huic pelliculae facilius ignosces. . . .⁸

Here it will be observed that Augustine was not faced with a shortage of papyrus; rather, he was using parchment pretty much as a matter of choice. Yet it is significant that he apologizes for his choice — his only excuse is that his wax tablets, commonly used for letters, were not at hand — and that he realizes his correspondent will take it for granted that he did not have papyrus available.

It would seem, therefore, that the testimony of Jerome may be

⁴ Henry A. Sanders, "The Beginnings of the Modern Book": *Michigan Alumnus (Quarterly Review)* XLIV (1938), pp. 99-100.

⁵ Th. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 62-63.

⁶ V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*², vol. 1: *Das Buchwesen im Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 166.

⁷ *Ep.* 7, 2, 2.

⁸ *Ep.* 15, 1.

regarded as showing that a letter written on parchment was an exception to ordinary usage and perhaps to good form even at a time when parchment was widely used for various forms of writing. Jerome's remarks, however, do not prove that the use of parchment for letter-writing was an utter novelty in his day, although it would probably be impossible to demonstrate how much earlier it may have been made to serve this purpose. Nevertheless, it seems not unreasonable to presume that a letter written on parchment would have been a distinct rarity in Cicero's time,⁹ when the use of parchment for writing at all was comparatively much less common than it was destined to become in later generations.

The prevailing use of papyrus in correspondence both personal and official is indicated by still other statements made by Jerome in his writings. In his reply to two friends who had written him an inquiry about the readings found in various passages of the *Psalms*, he agrees to discuss the readings *iuxta digestionem schedulae vestrae*.¹⁰ The pertinent point in the phrase quoted is that Jerome uses the word *schedula* as an equivalent of *epistola*,¹¹ thus showing by his diction that private letters were so customarily written on sheets of papyrus¹² that the term by which such sheets were designated could be used virtually as a synonym for the letter itself written on them. Likewise, as the result of a similar synonymy of terms, he speaks of the letters of the Church as *chartae ecclesiasticae*¹³ as well as *ecclesiasticae epistolae*.¹⁴ Furthermore, the depository in which, as he indicates, copies

⁹ Sanders, in the passage cited in n. 4, argues that Trebatius wrote to Cicero on parchment, basing his opinion chiefly on Cicero's statement (*Fam.* VII, 18, 2) that the letter was a palimpsest. I am inclined to believe that Cicero, jesting with Trebatius as usual, is here humorously accusing him of erasing one of his (Cicero's) letters and writing a reply on the same papyrus. If, however, Sanders's view is correct, Cicero's remark, "An hoc significas . . . ne chartam quidem tibi suppeditare?" seems all the more pointed.

¹⁰ *Ep.* 106, 2, 1.

¹¹ So Birt, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik*: Müller, *Handb. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, vol. 1, part 3³ (Munich, 1913), p. 381. Additional examples of this usage occur in *Epp.* 11, 1, 1; 62, 1, 1; 107, 86, 1. Cf. Aug., *Ep.* 125, 5, where the term *chartula* apparently has the sense of *epistola*.

¹² Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 237; Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹³ *Ep.* 123, 9, 1; *Adv. Rufin.* 3, 42 (*P.L.* 23, 489; V. 569).

¹⁴ *Adv. Rufin.* 2, 20 (*P.L.* 23, 444; V. 513).

of these letters were kept on file he significantly terms a *chartarium*.¹⁵ It appears probable, therefore, that for its official correspondence the Church regularly used papyrus. And when one considers the influence of the early Christians in extending the use of parchment for purposes of writing, the whole testimony of a Christian writer for the use of papyrus for letters seems to gain added weight.

Thus far I have cited the evidence afforded by Jerome which seems to bear on the usage of classical times and certainly on the practice of his own day. But he has a word to say also about letter-writing in an age *ante chartae et membranarum usum*.¹⁶ In that time, as he explains, men wrote letters on tablets hewn from wood (*in dedolatis ex ligno codicellis*) or on the bark of trees (*in corticibus arborum*); and as a result of the use of these materials, letter-carriers were called *tabellarii* and scribes were called *librarii*.¹⁷ Jerome's limiting of the term *codicellis* by the phrase *dedolatis ex ligno* shows that it was necessary for him to distinguish carefully between the plain wooden tablets of which he was speaking and their successors, the wax-covered tablets of the same shape and name which were often used for letters, especially short notes, long after the introduction of papyrus.¹⁸ As to whether or not bark also was used in codex-form, patterned after the wooden tablets, as Sanders believes,¹⁹ he gives no specific hint, unless his distinction between *codicellis* and *corticibus* indicates a difference in form as well as in material; for if he was thinking of the same form he might perhaps have written something like this: *in codicellis aut dedolatis ex ligno aut confectis ex corticibus*. And it does seem possible, in view of the tendency of bark to curl, that it was used in roll-form.²⁰

2. WAX-COVERED TABLETS AND THEIR USE

Although definite statements regarding the use of wax tablets are not numerous in the works of Jerome, there are certain references to

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 3, 20 (*P.L.* 23, 471; V. 549).

¹⁶ *Ep.* 8, 1.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Birt, *Krit. u. Hermen.*, pp. 286-287.

¹⁹ "The Beginnings of the Modern Book": *Michigan Alumnus* (Q. R.) XLIV (1938), pp. 101-102.

²⁰ So Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 98.

these tablets which are significant. In two passages, he attests the use of wax tablets by young and old alike for general purposes of writing, for in his well-known letter of advice on the education of a young girl he recommends the wax tablet for the child's first exercises in the art of writing,²¹ and in a letter of birthday greetings addressed to an elderly friend he congratulates him that he can still write in straight and even lines on his tablets.²² Of equal importance, though seemingly less familiar, are his statements concerning the use of these tablets by *notarii* when taking dictation. Numerous passages in his letters show that he for various reasons frequently resorted to dictation instead of writing with his own hand, and in two of them his language makes it clear that his dictation was taken on wax tablets — a point which appears to have been overlooked by Wikenhauser, since he states that the letters of Jerome do not contain actual evidence for such use of these tablets by *notarii*.²³ Of the two passages to which I refer, the first reads as follows: "Et quoniam . . . excipientes iam implevimus ceras, hucusque dictasse sufficiat . . .";²⁴ the second: ". . . ego iam mensuram epistulae excedere me intellego et excipientis ceras video esse completas . . .".²⁵ In both of these quotations, the occurrence of the word *cerae* is clear proof that wax tablets were being used; and although the verb *dictare* appears only in the first of the passages, the fact of dictation taken by a *notarius* is plainly indicated by the participle *excipiens*, which occurs in both passages and which must have a meaning in both akin to that of the noun *exceptor* in its technical sense of "one who takes (*excipit*) the dictation" of another.²⁶

The use of wax tablets by *notarii* when engaged in taking a record of discussions carried on by two or more participants seems not to be explicitly attested by Jerome; yet such usage may be inferred from a statement of his, particularly when considered in the light of evidence offered by Augustine for their use under similar circumstances. For

²¹ *Ep.* 107, 4, 3.

²² *Ep.* 10, 2, 2.

²³ A. Wikenhauser, "Der heilige Hieronymus und die Kurzschrift": *Th. Q.* 92 (1910), p. 55.

²⁴ *Ep.* 18A, 16, 2.

²⁵ *Ep.* 64, 21, 1.

²⁶ O. Fiebiger, "Exceptor": *R.-E.* 6 (1909), 1565.

Jerome in his account of a dialogue writes: “. . . visum est utriusque sermonem a notariis excipi”;²⁷ Augustine, referring to a group-discussion of a certain question, says: “Cooperunt verba nostra excipi, et aliqua ab invicem ad tabulas dicta sunt.”²⁸ It is clear that both writers are referring to the taking of a stenographic record; and in the latter passage, the word *tabulae* seems to indicate the use of wax tablets by those serving as *notarii*.²⁹ Hence it may be a reasonable inference that on the occasion recorded by Jerome the *notarii* used similar equipment.

3. WRITING-INSTRUMENTS

Aside from his observation that the *stilus* was suited to writing on wax tablets, the *calamus* to use on papyrus, parchment, and any other material employed in writing,³⁰ Jerome has little to say about writing-instruments. His remark, however, that “dimisimus possessionem, dimisimus patriam, dimisimus saeculum, et propter calamum rixam facimus in monasteriis”³¹ is of interest for its suggestion either that the supply of pens was inadequate or that some pens were distinctly better than others. The latter interpretation seems preferable, unless Jerome was thinking of some temporary or local shortage.

4. RED INK AND ITS USES

On one of the two occasions on which Jerome refers to red ink,³² he indicates that it was regarded as something normally used to ornament a text and therefore of no real importance. Hence persons wishing to copy a work in which red ink had been used might themselves disregard the exemplar in this respect and regulate their own use of red ink by personal taste or desire to escape the tedium of

²⁷ *C. Lucif.* (P.L. 23, 155; V. 171).

²⁸ *Ep.* 44, 2.

²⁹ It must be admitted that in the absence of some such modifier as *ceratae*, the meaning of *tabulae* here is not beyond question. Cf. Birt, *Krit. u. Hermen.*, pp. 260 and 286.

³⁰ *Ep.* 65, 7, 2.

³¹ *Tract. in Psalm.* 119 (*Anec. Mared.* III, 2, p. 231).

³² *Chron. a. Abr., Praefat.* (P.L. 27, 37 sq.); *Praefat. in Quat. Evang.* (P.L. 29, 528). It is from the first-mentioned of these prefaces that the material presented here is drawn. In both prefaces, however, the use of red ink is clearly shown to be a practical one.

exact copying. Jerome, therefore, desiring to show the value of his use of red in addition to the ordinary black ink in one of his works and to urge that this use be exactly reproduced in copies of the work,³³ explains in detail its purpose — namely, to make clear to his readers the relation between parts of the work in question. This purpose was to be accomplished by means of corresponding numbers, of which some were written in black, others in red, still others in a combination of the two.³⁴ Jerome's remarks, then, are evidence that red ink, although used in the writing of texts in his day primarily for the sake of ornamentation or novelty, served practical purposes as well, even if only to a comparatively limited extent.

5. STENOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Frequent as are Jerome's references to *notarii*, there is in his works very little evidence to show whether *notarii* when taking dictation employed what may technically be regarded as stenographic symbols, such as the *notae Tironianae*,³⁵ or whether they used chiefly some sort of standardized abbreviations.³⁶ When, however, he says, "Cum haec . . . velox notarii manus me dictante signaret . . .,"³⁷ and again when he writes, ". . . ut notariorum manus lingua praecurreret et signa et furta verborum volubilitas sermonis obrueret,"³⁸ it seems reasonable to regard the verb *signaret* and the phrase *signa et furta verborum* as evidence that the *notarii* on these occasions were making use of a kind of shorthand system.³⁹

As for abbreviations, although one may presume that *notarii* did make use of them, Jerome has nothing to say about their Latin form.

³³ That Jerome was rather scornful of the decorative effects of red ink is shown by his words: "Unde praemonendum puto, ut prout quaeque scripta sunt, etiam colorum diversitates servantur, ne quis irrationabili aestimet voluptate oculis tantum rem esse quaesitam. . . ." (*Chron. a. Abr., Praefat.*)

³⁴ The use of red ink explained in *Praefat. in Quat. Evang.* is somewhat simpler, being limited to numbers in solid red written under numbers in solid black.

³⁵ Jerome refers to Tiro and his development of *notae* in *Chron. a. Abr.* 2012 (*P.L.* 27, 557).

³⁶ Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Introd. to Gr. and Lat. Palaeog.* (Oxford, 1912), p. 75; Wikenhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

³⁷ *Ep.* 34, 6.

³⁸ *Ep.* 117, 12, 2. Cf. *Ep.* 118, 1; 124, 1, 2; 65, 7, 2.

³⁹ So Wikenhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

On the other hand, he has written an important account of Greek abbreviations of the type designated as contractions.⁴⁰ This material in its general import has been treated by Traube⁴¹ and need not be recounted here. Yet certain details which indicate that the form of the particular abbreviation discussed by Jerome is an unusual one should be mentioned, since Traube apparently does not account for them.

In the first place, this abbreviation, written as a monogram, contains only the letters *chi* and *iota*, which Jerome says are the first and last letters of the genitive case of *Christus*.⁴² It is, therefore, a contraction; and, since the letter *iota* is taken as the genitive ending, it must have been written in a Latin MS.⁴³ In the second place, as already intimated, this abbreviation does not contain the letter *rho*. Yet the normal forms containing the letter *iota* of which Traube speaks have regularly also the letter *rho* following the letter *chi* (usually written $\chi\rho$ or $\overline{\chi\rho\iota}$) and are treated by him as a suspension of the nominative case.⁴⁴ In the third place, the form of the monogram was such that it led to confusion on the part of some in reading it. For, as Jerome points out, it was written in such a way as to indicate not only a name but also a special number.⁴⁵ To accomplish this latter purpose, one of the three strokes constituting the monogram was curved at either end to form the number-symbol *episimon*,⁴⁶ the value of which was to be added to the numerical value of the letters

⁴⁰ *De Monogramma XPI* (*Anec. Mared.* III, 3, pp. 195 sqq.).

⁴¹ L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra* (Munich, 1907), pp. 4-5.

⁴² *Monogr.* (*op. cit.*, III, 3, p. 195): "In hac ergo nota ·X· Graecum continetur et .iota. Et hoc patet, quod nominativus non sit hic positus, sed genetivus, id est, non Christus, sed Christi: non enim simma finitur, sed iota." It is interesting that Jerome continues with a statement of the reason why this type of abbreviation was used — namely, to make case-endings clear.

⁴³ In Latin MSS., the adaptation of the Greek letters of certain *nomina sacra* to Latin case-endings seems to have been normal. Cf. Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158; Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, England, 1915), pp. 402 sqq.

⁴⁴ Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 151, 157 sqq.

⁴⁵ *Monogr.* (*Anec. Mared.* III, 3, p. 196): ". . . ideo ista nota in monogramma electa est, ut numero et nomini satisfaciatur. . ."

⁴⁶ *Monogr.* (*op. cit.*, III, 3, pp. 195-196): "Intuere ergo in ea .iota. recte stantem, et / acutum transversum et in dexteram ascendentem, \ gravemque descendentem trans .iota. et acutum. De hiis ut sunt accentibus in vicem transversis efficitur $\chi\rho$ Graecum. Sed supra dictus gravis duobus suis capitibus cir-

chi and *iota*.⁴⁷ Now Jerome, in his interpretation of the monogram, regarded this curved stroke as one part of the letter *chi* and took one of the two straight strokes to complete the *chi*, the other to form *iota*.⁴⁸ But there were some who, regarding the two straight strokes as forming *chi* and the curved stroke as forming Latin S, read the monogram as \overline{XS} ⁴⁹ — a contraction of the nominative case, formed apparently on the analogy of the Greek \overline{XC} . Jerome, however, rejected this reading, partly because he felt that the number represented, as he interpreted it, was of special significance,⁵⁰ and partly because he regarded the combination of Greek and Latin letters as absurd.⁵¹

It would appear, then, that Jerome's discussion is concerned with a form of abbreviation equivalent to \overline{XI} (but actually written in the form shown in note 46), constructed on the analogy of the common contraction \overline{XY} of the Greek genitive of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}s$, but adapted to the requirements of a Latin text. If this is so, Jerome's account has preserved an example of a rare form; for neither Traube nor Lindsay cites any examples like it except for a twelfth-century abbreviation consisting of *chi* and a suprascript *iota*.⁵² But even this is regarded not as a contraction of the genitive case but as an equivalent of the suspension \overline{XPI} .

6. CRITICAL SYMBOLS

Two critical signs are frequently mentioned by Jerome — namely, the *obelus* and the *asteriscus*, which he also calls *veru* or *virgula* and

cumflectitur . . . ut sit numeri nota, cuius nomen episimon. In duo autem opera haec sola est in nota, id est in numeri notam et · X · Graeci dimidium.”

⁴⁷ *Monogr. (op. cit., III, 3, p. 196)*.

⁴⁸ See the passage cited in n. 46.

⁴⁹ *Monogr. (op. cit., III, 3, p. 196)*: “Et ob hoc affirmant, ut nominativum contendat, ut in isto monogramma dicatur Christus, in novissimo nominis simma sonante, eo quod evenit pene similis esse haec numeri nota et littera S libraria Latina. . . .”

⁵⁰ *Monogr. (op. cit., III, 3, p. 196)*: “. . . quia, nisi fallor, in hoc loco sancta scriptura numero nominique tantum et sensui satisfacere, non casibus, procurat.”

⁵¹ *Monogr. (op. cit., III, 3, p. 196)*: “. . . et incassum laborant, ut in Graecis litteris absurda permixtura Latinam litteram misceant.” On this point, however, cf. Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 sqq.

⁵² Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

stella respectively.⁵³ That they were developed by Alexandrian scholars, he does not actually state, yet his remark, "Quae signa et in Graecorum Latinorumque poematibus inveniuntur,"⁵⁴ seems to indicate his recognition of their origin in the criticism of secular texts, with perhaps a hint at their Alexandrian source. Their introduction into Biblical texts translated from Hebrew into Greek he accredits to Origen, who used the *obelus* to indicate spurious passages in the Septuagint version — passages, that is, which were not supported by the Hebrew texts —, and the *asteriscus* to mark passages which, though not found in the Septuagint version, were read in the translation of Theodotion and were supported by the authority of the Hebrew.⁵⁵ As used, therefore, by Origen, the *obelus* had the same significance that it generally had in secular texts, but the *asteriscus* was given a function different from that for which the Alexandrians had used it.⁵⁶ Moreover, these critical symbols as used by Origen are diametrically opposed to each other in sense; and for this reason, it seems that Gudeman in attributing to Jerome any evidence for Origen's use of them in combination⁵⁷ must be mistaken. At all events, I have found no passage in Jerome's writings which seems to support Gudeman's statement.

As for Jerome himself, it appears that he not only introduced these same critical signs into the Latin version of the Bible, and in the same significance as that in which Origen had used them,⁵⁸ but that he also devised a new sign consisting of two dots (:) by which he marked the end of passages affected by either the *obelus* or the *asteriscus*.⁵⁹ This device of Jerome's, however, seems not to have been taken into account by Gudeman in his discussion of critical signs.

⁵³ For the nomenclature: *Ep.* 106, 7, 2; *Praefat. in Lib. Psalm.* (P.L. 29, 119). Reference to these signs is made in various works, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 106, 7, 2.

⁵⁵ *Loc. cit.* Cf. *Apol. adv. Rufin.* 2, 27 (P.L. 23, 451; V. 522); *Praefat. in Pentateuch.* (P.L. 28, 148).

⁵⁶ A. Gudeman, "Kritische Zeichen": *R.-E.* 11 (1922), 1920-1923.

⁵⁷ Gudeman, *op. cit.*, 1923.

⁵⁸ *Praefat. in Pentateuch.* (P.L. 28, 147 sqq.).

⁵⁹ *Praefat. in Lib. Psalm.* (P.L. 29, 119).

STUDIES IN ARATOR, II

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARATOR

BY ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

IN approaching the problem of classifying the codices of Arator the writer has made a careful collation of some forty of this author's manuscripts. These include practically all the important texts of the ninth and tenth centuries and many of the eleventh and twelfth. Besides, the writer has personally collated most of the significant variants in sixty other relics of our author found in the libraries of Europe. There are thirty more that seem too late to be of much promise. Accordingly they are not included in the collation. This covers the field pretty well except for *Eboracensis XVI. R. 14(42)*, S. XIII, British Museum, *Harleianus 3121*, S. XI and *Regius 15 A, V*, S. XI *ex.* and what holdings Spanish libraries may possess. A description¹ of the manuscripts has already appeared. In the following study the different codices will be cited by the numbers listed in this preceding article. In working out his classes the writer presents the evidence from his complete collation, first from the earlier manuscripts mostly of the ninth century and then that from the later texts. He concludes with the less complete collations of still later manuscripts.

A HAND LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS BY NUMBER

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| 1. Vindobonensis 243 (Theol. 578), S. XI. | V. ¹ |
| 2. Vindobonensis 275, S. XII. | V. ² |
| 3. Vindobonensis 275, S. XII. | V. ³ |
| 4. Vindobonensis 285 (Theol. 712), S. XII. | V. ⁴ |
| 5. Bruxellensis 185 (1828-1830), S. X. | Br. ¹ |
| 6. Bruxellensis 186 (5380-5384), S. XII. | Br. ² |
| 7. Bruxellensis 187 (2825), S. XIII. | Br. ³ |
| 8. Dantiscanus 2397, S. XIII. | D. |
| 9. Catalaunensis 8 (9), S. XII. | Cat. |
| 10. Carolopolitanus 103, S. XIII. | Car. |

¹ Arthur Patch McKinlay, *Arator, the Codices*. (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942).

11. Carnotensis 70 (45), S. IX.	Carn.
12. Ebroicensis 24, S. XII.	Eb.
13. Gratianopolitanus 859, S. XII.	Gr.
14. Montepessulanus 135, S. XI (Arator).	M.
15. Aurelianensis 80 (77), S. X-S. XI.	Aur. ¹
16. Aurelianensis 295 (248 <i>bis</i>), S. IX (S. X Catalogue).	Aur. ²
17. Parisinus 2773, S. IX-S. X [Rand] (S. XI Catalogue).	P. ¹
18. Parisinus 6400 B, S. X-S. XI.	P. ²
19. Parisinus 8092, S. X.	P. ³
20. Parisinus 8095, S. IX <i>med.</i> (Rand).	P. ⁴
21. Parisinus 8096, S. XI.	P. ⁵
22. Parisinus 8318, S. XI.	P. ⁶
23. Parisinus 8319, S. IX-S. X (S. IX Carey).	P. ⁷
24. Parisinus 8320, S. IX-S. X.	P. ⁸
25. Parisinus 9347, S. IX.	P. ⁹
26. Parisinus 11329, S. XII.	P. ¹⁰
27. Parisinus 11330, S. XI-S. XII.	P. ¹¹
28. Parisinus 12284, S. IX <i>in.</i> (Carey).	P. ¹²
29. Parisinus 13336, S. X-S. XI.	P. ¹³
30. Parisinus 14758, S. XIII.	P. ¹⁴
31. Parisinus 16699, S. XII.	P. ¹⁵
32. Parisinus 16700, S. IX.	P. ¹⁶
33. Parisinus 17905, S. IX-S. X.	P. ¹⁷
34. Parisinus 18554, S. IX <i>med.</i>	P. ¹⁸
35. Parisinus 18555, nouveau fonds S. IX.	P. ¹⁹
36. Mazarin 3862, S. XI.	Maz.
37. Sancta Genovèfa, vol. 1, pp. 53-54, No. 76, S. XII.	St. G.
38. Trecensis 1722, S. XI-S. XII.	Tr.
39. Valentianensis 390 (373), S. IX.	Val. ¹
40. Valentianensis 412 (393 <i>bis</i>), S. XI.	Val. ²
41. Berolinensis 147, S. XII.	B. ¹
42. Berolinensis 172, S. XI.	B. ²
43. Dresdensis A. 199, S. IX.	Dr. ¹
44. Dresdensis A. 205, S. X.	Dr. ²
45. Amplonianus 91, S. XII.	Erf.
46. Erlangensis 2112, S. XI-S. XII.	Erl.
47. Francofurtus 139, S. XII-S. XIII.	F.
48. Gothanus 115, S. IX.	G. ¹
49. Gothanus 116, S. XI.	G. ²
50. Lipsiensis 1306, S. XIII.	Li.
51. Monacensis 686, S. XI.	Mon. ¹
52. Monacensis 4005, S. XII.	Mon. ²
53. Monacensis 19451, S. X (S. XI [?]).	Mon. ³
54. Monacensis 22283, S. XII-S. XIII.	Mon. ⁴

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| 55. Monacensis 29033 c. | Mon. ⁵ |
| 56. Monacensis 29035 a, S. XI. | Mon. ⁶ |
| 57. Monacensis 29035 b, 3 fragments, S. XI. | Mon. ⁷ |
| 58. Monacensis 29035 c. | Mon. ⁸ |
| 59. Pommersfelden 2 (2913), S. XII. | Pom. ¹ |
| 60. Pommersfelden 164 (2707), S. XIV. | Pom. ² |
| 61. Treuericus 1093/1469, S. XI. | Tre. |
| 62. Guelferbytanus 3552; Aug. 51, 12, S. XII. | Gu. ¹ |
| 63. Guelferbytanus 4383; Gud. 79, S. XI. | Gu. ² |
| 64. Guelferbytanus 4413; Gud. 109, S. XII. | Gu. ³ |
| 65. Guelferbytanus 4627; Gud. 320, S. XI. | Gu. ⁴ |
| 66. Cantabrigiensis Gg. v 35 (1567), S. XI. | C. |
| 67. Cantabrigiensis (Trinitatis Collegii) B 14. 3
(289 James), S. IX. | T. |
| 68. Edinburgensis 7. 16, S. XIII. | Ed. |
| 69. Etonensis 150 (Bl. 65), S. X-S. XI. | Et. |
| 70. Londinensis (British Museum) 11034, additions, S. IX. | Brit. ¹ |
| 71. Londinensis (British Museum), additions, 18363, S. IX. | Brit. ² |
| 72. Harleianus 3072, S. X. | H. ¹ |
| 73. Harleianus 3093, S. XI. | H. ² |
| 74. Westminsteriensis 5. 183, S. XI-S. XII. | W. |
| 75. Bodleianus 12398 (C 552), S. XIII. | Bodl. ¹ |
| 76. Bodleianus 12415 (C 570), S. X-S. XI. | Bodl. ² |
| 77. Oxoniensis XVII (XVI), S. XI. | Ox. |
| 78. Vossianus F. 12, S. IX. | Voss. ¹ |
| 79. Vossianus Q. 15, S. IX (S. XI Baehrens). | Voss. ² |
| 80. Vossianus Q. 72, S. XI. | Voss. ³ |
| 81. Vossianus Q. 86, S. IX. | Voss. ⁴ |
| 82. Laurentianus in Plut. XXXIII, Cod. XVII, S. XII. | L. ¹ |
| 83. Laurentianus in Plut. XXXIII, Cod. XVIII, S. XII. | L. ² |
| 84. Laurentianus in Plut. LXVIII, Cod. XXIV, S. XI. | L. ³ |
| 85. Ambrosianus C. 74 sup., S. IX-S. X. | Amb. |
| 86. Casinensis Compactiones, vol. XIV, S. XI. | Cas. ¹ |
| 87. Casinensis 145, S. XI. | Cas. ² |
| 88. Casinensis 146, S. XI. | Cas. ³ |
| 89. Vallicelliana, F. 26, S. XI. | Vall. ¹ |
| 90. Vallicelliana, F. 65. | Vall. ² |
| 91. Vallicelliana, B. 136, S. XIII. | Vall. ³ |
| 92. Vaticanus, Lat. 1665, S. XI. | Vat. ¹ |
| 93. Vaticanus, Pal. Lat. 1716, S. X-S. XI. | Vat. ² |
| 94. Vaticanus, Pal. Lat. 1717, S. XII. | Vat. ³ |
| 95. Vaticanus, Reg. 230, S. XI-S. XII. | Reg. ¹ |
| 96. Vaticanus, Reg. 300, S. X. | Reg. ² |
| 97. Vaticanus, Reg. 333, S. IX. | Reg. ³ |

98. Vindobonensis, 186 (Trient), S. XII.	Tri.
99. Cracoviensis 1571, S. XIV.	Cr.
100. Bernensis 286, S. XI.	Ber.
101. Einsidlensis 302, S. X.	Eins.
102. Sangallensis 336, S. X.	S. ¹
103. Sangallensis 870, S. IX.	S. ²

NINTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

85; 16, cf. 78; 67; 11, cf. 79; 43, cf. 71; 48; 70; 71, cf. 43; 17; 20; 25; 28; 32; 34; 35; 39; 78, cf. 16; 79, cf. 11; 81.

Variants in the readings of some forty manuscripts of Arator point to 28 (before 820 A.D., Carey) as the leader of what may be called the X group. Several reasons contributed to such a conclusion. First, 28 is the oldest considerable relic of Arator. Second, it has most of the readings that vary from the readings characteristic of the Y group. Third, it is far less illiterate than other early exemplars of the X group. Then Professor Ker came along with his find ² of a fragment of Arator in *Bodleianus E. Mus. 66* — *Bodl.*,³ S. VII. This fragment of one hundred and fifty-two lines, more than two thirds illegible, coincides with 28 in several errors that can hardly be mere coincidences, and runs in prose form like corresponding passages in 28. Accordingly it seems clear that 28 though not directly copied from *Bodl.*³ goes back to a text closely related to it.

In such a state of textual illiteracy as is revealed by Professor Ker's fragment other errors must have got into the tradition. These may persist in other manuscripts, some of which may be thought of as scribal variants on the X tradition and others as a second group that may be called Y. The following table will make data available for coordinating these possibilities. 28 represents the X group; 25 the variant on X, to be cited as X², and 16 the Y group, including the second hand of 25. As 25 is defective from *Lib. i*, 342 — *Lib. ii*, 94, it has seemed worth while to give the corresponding readings from 34 and (or) 85, mss. which tally closely with those of 25 first or second hand in the portions where comparison is available. 78 completes 16 from *Lib. ii*, 736.

² Appraised in a forthcoming article in *Speculum*.

	X ² 25	Y 25(2nd hand)	Y 16	X 28
Lib. i				
366	signis, 34	segnis [34, 2nd hand]	segnis	signis
370	fulsere, 34, 85	[25 ?]	fulsere	stetere
520	antra, 34 <i>in ras.</i>	atra [85]	antra	astra
622	fluit, 34	[25 ?]	fluit	manat
690	medimatus, 34	metitus, 34 (2nd hand)	metitus	meditatus, 85
885	hac eadem, 34	[25 ?]	hac ipsa	hac eadem
Lib. ii				
41	exemplo, 34	extemplo, 34 (2nd hand)	extemplo	exemplo
184	populi, pecudis, 34	pecudis	pecudis	pecudis
271	adportat, adoptat, 34	adortat	adobtat	adoptat
327	multiplici, and 34	multiplicem, and 34	multiplicem	multiplici
328	relatus	relatū relatū est (?), 34	relatū est	relatas
379	natale natale natale, 34	nata . . . le	natale natale (2nd natale deleted)	natale
429	tactus, and 34	glossed <i>nac-</i> <i>turus</i> , 34 ³ nactus	tactus	nactus
490	multo, and 34	multi, and 34	multi	multo
491	coire coire, 34	coiere	coiere	cogere
514	schenifactor scenosfactor, 34 (1st hand)	schenifactor sceni:factor, 34 (erasure of s)	scenifactor	schenifactor (space be- tween <i>i</i> and <i>f</i> for <i>s</i> to have been erased)

³ Throughout this paper the symbol > means "is changed to," e.g. *tactus* > *nactus*, i.e. *tactus* is changed to *nactus* by a corrector.

	X ² 25	Y 25 (2nd hand)	Y 16	X 28
Lib. ii				
530	senior, and 34	senio, and 34	senio	senior
538	purganda, and 34	glossed <i>mundanda</i>	purgata <i>at>and</i>	purganda.
545	veniaentibus, and 34 (ent)	venientibus manantibus, 34	manantibus	manentibus
554	habiens, and 34	<i>h</i> dotted <i>h</i> erased, 34	abiens	abenis
565	hos(ti)s hospes, 34	hospes	hospes	hostis
611	nigrida nigredine, 34	nigredine	nigredine	nigridine
798	hospis, and 34	sospes, and 34	sospes, 78	sorspes
906	mallis, and 34, 85	malis, and 34	malis, 78	mallis
910	expecta expectanta, 34	expectata <i>n</i> deleted, 34	expectata, 78	expecta> expectata
1187	relocans, and 34, 85	relegans, and 34	re legans, 78 (16)	religans, 28

A glance over the preceding table will show that 25 and 28 often agree as against the reading of 16, that 25 is often erratic in its divergencies from 28, that the former's second hand usually agrees with 16, that 34 generally fits in with this approximation unto the readings of Y. Examples of the agreement of 25 (or 34 where 25 is defective) and 28 are *signis* [34]⁴ (*De Act. Ap. Lib.* i, 366); *meditatus* read *medimatus* by 34, a slip of *m* from initial *m* (i, 690); *exemplo* [34] (ii, 41); *multipli* (ii, 327); *schenisfactor* [space for an *s* between *i* and *f* in 28] (ii, 514); *mallis* (ii, 906); *expecta* [first hand in both] (ii, 910).

Divergencies between 25 and 28, on the other hand, show their ancestors had picked up diverse readings sometimes, yet hardly enough to warrant putting 25 in a separate group. Such are: *fulsere* (i, 370), 25 (i.e. 34) and *stetere*, 28 (a gloss as shown by the false quantity); *antra* (i, 520), 34 and *astra*, 28; *populi* [probably brought in from a gloss] (ii, 184), 25 and *pecudis*, 28; *coire* (ii, 491), 25 and *cogere*, 28; *relocans* (ii, 1187), 25 and *religans*, 28.

⁴ The square brackets are used when there is a parenthesis in juxtaposition.

The chart shows a definite tendency for the second hand of 25 to equate with the readings of 16. The only real exception is *hac ipsa* (ii, 885). It is also evident that 34 and 16 run closely together, especially in the second hand. Hundreds of other illustrations might be offered but they would only serve to corroborate the conclusions to be drawn from the citations made.

To summarize, then, it would seem that we might speak of an X group as centering in 28, a closely allied text as found in 25, and its associates 34 and 85, and a somewhat more separate tradition represented by 16 and the second hand of 25 with its associates such as 34, that we may call the Y group.

On the relationship between 16 and 25 (second hand) one may not dogmatize. At first sight one might be disposed to think of 16 as having a common source with the second hand of 25. But just as 25 shows evidence of being the heir of readings that differentiate it partly from 28, so we find a similar state of affairs in the text of 16. A few examples will illustrate:

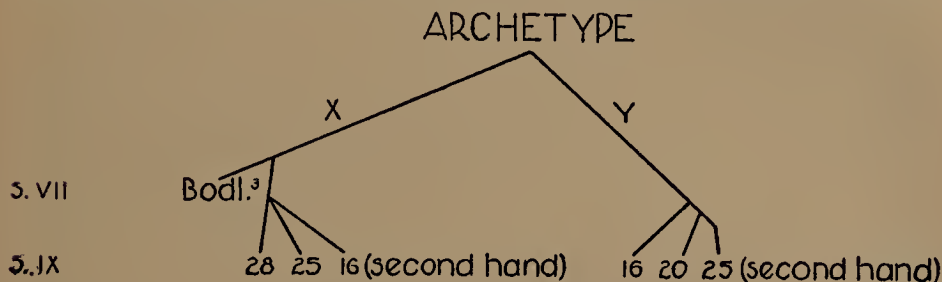
[M]embr (?) tulit dñs sinuat (i, 82), 16 > *surgit et insinuat*, the reading of 28 and 20 (*insinuans*); *anni* (i, 208), 16 > *orbis*, the reading of 28 and 20; *duo sunt haec signa figurae* (i, 229), 16 > *tabulis conscripta duabus*, the reading of 28 and 20; *dubitare* (i, 500), 16 > *dubitasse*, the reading of 28 and 20; *verbi* (i, 769), 16 > *morbi*, the reading of 28 and 20; *sapargis* (i, 852), 16 > *spargis*, the reading of 28 and 20; *diremit* (i, 923), 16 > *relinquit*, the reading of 28 and 20; *retinere* (i, 1057), 16 > *superare*, the reading of 28 and 20; *ferire* (*Lib.* ii, 4), 16 > *Petrus*, the reading of 28 and 20; *vitae* (ii, 227), 16 > *venae*, the reading of 28 and 20; *plena* (ii, 320), 16 > *creba*, read *crebra* by 28 and 20; *vitae* (ii, 581), 16 > *linguae* (glossed *lingua*, the reading of 28; 20 reads *linguae*); *manet* (ii, 893), 78 (16) > *novo*, the reading of 28 and 20; *prolis* (ii, 940), 78 > *pronus*, the reading of 28 and 20. These are some of the hundred or more errors that sprinkle the lines of Arator as seen in 16. In one error 28 and 16 agree: *vitalia* (i, 959) for *qui talia*. These readings probably go back to the welter of confusion illustrated in the text of *Bodl.*³ Since these errors, or variants, do not appear to any noticeable extent in other manuscripts, there seems no basis for making 16 a family in itself, especially since most of the readings are obvious errors. That

there are not more of such agreements tends to confirm a dual tradition in the text of Arator. In passing one should notice that these corruptions in 16 are regularly corrected to the readings of 20.

The preceding data make for certain deductions. First, 16 has a wealth of errors not due to mere slips. Their correction shows that in the mind of the corrector they were errors. Still they are significant enough to warrant us in thinking of them as indicating a tradition worthy of a separate classification, that we may call Y. The question now arises, does 16 come from 25 second hand? That seems impossible, for how could 16 have got all the readings that are not found in 25 first or second hand? There is one exception, the reading of *natale natale* (*Lib.* ii, 379) for *natale*. 16 deletes the second *natale*; 25 has *nata . . . le*. In 25 the erasure would allow for some six letters such as *le nata*. There is some evidence of an *r*, *b*, and *d*, of which the *l* in the final *le* may be a residue. Still the temptation is to take this redundancy as an agreement in error. What bearing this reading has on the relation of 16 and 25 is hard to say. The probable answer is that the double reading was in earlier texts and happened to get into both 16 and 25. The relation of 16 and 25 (second hand) may be expressed in some such way as this: 16 was copied from an unknown and quite illiterate archetype, and a corrector gave the archetype a thorough revision leaving, of course, some work for later correctors. Then the correctors of 16 and 25 compared the texts probably with the corrected archetype and equated them almost *verbatim et literatim*. In conclusion, then, one may think of two definite traditions, X and Y. Of these, the first goes back almost certainly to the seventh century. The other, Y, S. IX second half, evidently had access to definite variants on the X tradition. These may have crept in from glosses or errors, but as the text of the *capitula* and *tituli* betray a late ninth century attempt at bettering their text, so it may be that with the poem itself other texts were found to check up on X. So the stemma may be thought of somewhat as in the figure (p. 101). 28, 25, 16, accordingly, seem to suggest the grouping of the manuscripts of Arator into two main classes. The question now arises as to how and whether the other manuscripts fit into this scheme.

PARISINUS 8095 — 20. This manuscript goes in Y with a cross from X, for as has been shown above, it has the distinctive readings

of 16. It also has the corrected text as found in 25 (second hand). It shows the influence of the corrector of Y. Its text is relatively correct, showing that the recension of the late ninth century has brought fruit. What few divergencies exist between the two may be explained paleographically, such as *cessis* for *caesis* (ii, 255), 16, read



cessis by 20. A real exception is that of *mensis* (i, 153), 20 for the *verbis* and *turbis* of the other manuscripts. That 16 and 20 belong together is indicated by their both reading *prodest* (ii, 268) for *cana*, picked up by 25 (second hand) as a gloss.

The influence of 25 and Y is seen in several codices.

AMBROSIANUS C. 74 SUP. — 85, S. IX—S. X, is very closely related to 25. They agree in a host of significant errors, such as *lubricam* (*Ep. ad Fl.*, 19) for *loricam*; *affet unus* (*De Act. Ap.* ii, 154) for *affectu nos*; *quale* (ii, 549) for *qua lege*; *maturis* (ii, 789) for *matris*; *arida secum*, picked up from the end of an omitted line (ii, 1177), for *vapores*. Besides, these manuscripts agree in several lacunae. Both omit *Lib.* ii, 863, 882, 1107, and 1178. Both omit *est* (ii, 908) and *doli* (ii, 1071). In nearly a hundred instances 85 has the second reading of 25. In several cases it follows the uncorrected text of 25 including several of the lacunae. In a few places 85 has the X readings as against 25 and Y (25 second hand). These phenomena may be explained by viewing 85 as copied from a manuscript which preceded 25 and which had been carefully corrected from Y and besides had picked up a few of the X readings.

PARISINUS 18554 — 34, S. IX *med.* like 85, has a close tie-up with 25. In scores of instances the two agree in the first hand or in the correction. 34 usually corrects its errors of the first hand by 25. A few striking agreements in correction will illustrate: e.g. *quos obstruat*

(ii, 332). Here 25 read *quos subtrahat* (first *a* dotted) > *quos substravat* (*h* deleted, *v* inserted above), if we may conjecture from the reading of 85 > *quos obstruat*. Here 34 has an erasure of two (probably) words. The first began with *qu* and ended with *s*. The next began with *s* and ended with *uat*, the second reading of 25. Then came an interlinear *quos obstruat* occupying a space less by several letters than that of its first hand. Again, 34 agrees with the *venientibus* (ii, 545) of 25 (*aent*) as against the common reading of *manantibus* or *manentibus*. Also 34 has the *arida secum*⁵ (ii, 1177) of 25 and 85. Like them, 34 (first hand) omits lines ii, 863, 882, 1107, and 1178, all found in the margin. A confused variant for *prescia* (ii, 745) links these three manuscripts. 25 had brought down *templa* from the two previous lines. A corrector then erased the *e* and put an *a* over it; he changed the *l* into *i* and dotted the whole word. Later copyists evidently had trouble with this revision. 85 has *p̄ia*; 34 *pre::a* with an erasure of two small letters. To replace these letters it has *sci* in suprascript. Hence 34 goes in the X group showing a cross connection with Y through the second hand of 25.

PARISINUS 18555 — 35, S. IX *ex.*, agrees in hundreds of instances with 25 and 34 (first or second hand). It sometimes has an uncorrected error of 25 such as that of *coire* (ii, 491) for *coiere*. Furthermore, it has a cross connection with X as seen in *tristitia* (i, 348), the reading of 28 for *tristia*; *stetere* (i, 370), the reading of 28 for *fulsere*; *astra* (i, 520), the reading of 28 for *antra* or *atra*; *parentibus* (i, 590), the reading of 28 for *parantibus*; *manat* (i, 622), the reading of 28 for *fluit*. It is to be noted that all of these passages occur in the portions of the text in which 25 is defective and may have been read by that manuscript originally. If this explanation is correct, it may account for the reading of *habet* by 35 along with 11 and 81, close followers of 25, as against the *alit* (i, 196) of X and Y. The indications then are that 35 should be placed in the 25 group with its re-vamping from Y.

CARNOTENSIS 70 — 11 (including *Vossianus Q.* 15 — 79) and VOSSIANUS *Q.* 86 — 81 show an amazing agreement in the grossest sort of errors. A few of the hundreds available will illustrate this

⁵ See *supra* p. 101.

statement. 81 has undergone a very careful redaction; 11 very much less so.

They read:

Prisca — *movet* [with the erasure of a word] (i, 259) for *prisca movet*; *esse catervis vivere turmis* (i, 383) [81 erases *vivere turmis*] (?) for *esse catervis*; *coloris coluber* (i, 735) [81 precedes *coluber* by the erasure of a word ending in *is*] for *coluber*; *sanguine* (i, 1059) for *gratia*; *Paulus* (ii, 307) added at end of line (erased in 81); *per legatos* (ii, 459) [81 > *pelagus*] for *pelagus*; *gessit quod* (ii, 487) [81 > *quod*] for *quod*; *corinthe geret* (ii, 509) [81 > *contingeret*] for *contingeret*; *latens placens* (ii, 528) [81 > *placens*] for *placens*; *ussus sur* (ii, 936), the reading of 79 (i.e. 11) read *ussu sum* (?) by 81 (> *usuri*) for *usuri*.

These are a few of the many hundreds of errors in which 11 and 81 agree. This collusion in readings tempts the collator to suggest that one is copied from the other. 81 probably did not derive straight from 11 for it has *De Act. Ap., Lib. i, 118* which is defective in 11. On the other hand 11 did not come from 81, at least after its careful revision, for 11 is as corrupt as 81 before its correction. 11 has caught a few of the readings adopted by the corrector of 81. Its scribe might have made these changes or 11 may have been copied from the ancestor of 81 which might have been revised a little after 81 had been taken off. This possibility would help to account for a few disagreements in readings between 11 and 81, such as *movit* (*De Act. Ap., Lib. i, 772*), 81 and *monuit*, 11; *geri* (i, 887), 81 and *generi*, 11. Still in a text full of errors it might not be surprising if a scribe should make a few on his own account. At any rate we can think of 11 and 81 as carrying on the tradition of textual slackness noted in Bodl.³ and 28. Beside being so closely linked with 25, 11 and 81 show a definite alignment with 282 in reading with 28 *pectore que celabat* (ii, 875) for *paupere* and *ussu sum* (81), *ussus sur* (79, the complement of 11) and *usus sum* (28) for *usuri* (ii, 936). 11 and 81, besides showing evidence of being closely related with each other, can be classified in general. They belong to the tradition of X including that of 25. Though they are considerably later than 28, the recension of Y has affected them less than might have been expected. Thus they show the tradition of 28 in *efferus* (i, 360) for *et ferus*;

signis (i, 366) [11 and 81 *sinis*] for *segnis*; *stetere* (i, 370) for *fulsere*; *mentire* (i, 436) for *mentite*; *astra* (i, 520) for *antra* or *atra*; *manat* (i, 622) for *fluit*; *exemplo* (ii, 41) for *extemplo*; *usus sum* (11, 936), 28, (79, the complement of 11), *ussus sur* (81 *ussu sum*) for *usuri*. Where 11 and 81 differ from 28, with few exceptions they agree with 25 in the first or second hand. That 11 and 81 agree with 28 (first hand) in not having the *Epistola ad Florianum* tends to associate the three codices. Such disagreement as the reading of *pectore que celabat* (ii, 875) for *paupere* by 28, 11, and 81 makes for placing the latter two in the X tradition.

PARISINUS 16700 — 32, like 25, has the traits of X interlocked with those of 25 and Y (25 second hand). Its association with the tradition of 28 appears in *remeare* (i, 118) as against *recreare*; *astra* (i, 520) as against *antra* 16 or *atra* 20; *manat* (i, 622) instead of *fluit*; *cor oris* (i, 681) instead of *oris cor*; *cessis* (ii, 255) for *caesis*; *aspiciens* (ii, 987) for *accipiens*; *prostratis* (ii, 1216) as against *substratis*. With very few exceptions where 32 disagrees with 28 the text of the former conforms to that of 25 or 34 where 25 is defective. The chief exceptions are *constare* (i, 370) for *fulsere*, the reading of 16 or *stetere*, the reading of 28; *gerat* (i, 489), the reading of 16 for *ferat* (28 *feret*); *patrantibus* (i, 590) for *parantibus*, the reading of 34 (28 *parentibus*). It is too bad that we do not have 25 as a check-up on these passages. Once or twice 32 does not follow 28 in an isolated reading, such as *cogere* (ii, 491), the reading of 28 for *coiere* and *credere* [*dere* in *ras.*] (ii, 691) for *cedere*, the reading of 16 (34 *caedere*). The evidence weighs very heavily for 32 being largely of the X tradition. Still 32 agrees with 15 (a tenth century manuscript) of the Y group in several readings: *dudum* (ii, 11) for *laudem*; *vultu* (ii, 342) for *cultu*; *postsistit* (ii, 566) for *persistit*; *conscenderat* (ii, 623) for *converterat*.

LONDINENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM) 18363 ADDITIONS — 71, S. IX *ex.* including *Dresdensis A. 199* — 43 ties in with 48 and with 25 (first and second hands) or 34. Thus 48 and 71 have *De Act. Ap., Lib. i*, 311 along with 25 (second hand) as against most of the other manuscripts. In this line both with 25 (second hand) read *properata* for *proprio*. 71 and 48 have *vitam* — *via* (i, 503) for *vitae* — *viam*; *atra* (i, 520) for the *antra* of 16 and the *astra* of the X group; *oris cor*

(i, 681) for *cor oris*. 48 and 43 with 34 (*extemplo*, second hand) have *extimplo* (ii, 41) as against *exemplo*. Both 48 and 43 have *coire* (ii, 491) for *coiere*; *venientibus* (ii, 545) for *manantibus* or *manentibus*; *depressa* (ii, 683) for *deprensa*. As against more than a hundred cases of agreement there are only a few instances of disagreement between 71 (including 43) and 48. An example is *saturare* (ii, 998) of 43 as against the *satiare* of 48. No doubt the reading of 43 came in as a gloss. Hence 71 and 43 show ⁶ a close tie-up with the 25 tradition as modified by Y.

LONDINENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM), ADDITIONS 11034 — 70 and CANTABRIGIENSIS (TRINITATIS COLLEGII) B.14.3 — 67 in the great majority of significant variants appear together. Exceptions seem due to the influence of the tradition of 25 or Y. Thus *fecunda* (i, 137), the reading of 70 and 25 in the second hand, becomes *facunda*, the reading of 67; and *fusae* (i, 173), the reading of 70 and 25 in the first hand, in the second hand of 25 becomes *fusus*, the reading of 67. Sometimes they stand together alone against almost the whole field, as when they have in the first hand *De Act. Ap., Lib. i, 311*, found in 25 (second hand), a line missing in most of the first hand texts. There is some indication that 67 was copied from 70; for example, 67 reads *tristia* (i, 348) whereas 70 has *tristitia* with *ti* dotted. Out of one hundred and fifty more or less significant variants 67 and 70 differ in fewer than a half dozen instances except where the general tradition represented by 25 has come in as diverting factor. This pair of texts, then, should be classed as X with much contamination from Y through the general tradition represented by the second hand of 25.

VALENTIANENSIS 390 — 39, S. IX, although confined by accident to throwing light on but few variants, seems to line up with X and its adjustment to Y. Thus with 25 (second hand) it has *relatum* (ii, 328) for *relatus*; *librare* [from *liberare*] (ii, 350) for *libare*; *coire* (ii, 491) for *coiere*; *parta* (ii, 1003) for *facta*; and *visuri* (ii, 936), evidently a slip for the *usuri* of 25 as against the *usus sum* of 28. Divergencies are such slips as *inserit* (ii, 972) for *interiserit*.

PARISINUS 2773 — 17, S. IX-X shows a relationship with 25 (rep-

⁶ But see *infra*, p. 106.

resented by 34 where 25 is deficient). Thus with 25 > *creas* 17 reads *creans* (i, 340) for *creas*. With 34 > *tenebras*, 17 has *latebras* (i, 543) for *tenebras*; *exemplo*, 34 > *extemplo* (ii, 41) for *extemplo*. 17 has *movet* [read *movent* by 25 > *monent*] (ii, 519) for *monent*. With 25, 17 has *monuisse* (ii, 709) for *movisse*; *urbe* (ii, 852) for *orbe*; *aucta* (ii, 932) for *acta*; *aras* (ii, 1038) for *auras*; *victi* 25 (ii, 1097) for *vecti* (most codd.); *facta* 25 > *furta* (ii, 1201) for *furta*. 17 goes with the tradition represented by 25 and that too before the correction of 25 by comparison with the Y readings.

This brief presentation of significant data from ninth century manuscripts seems to indicate certain manuscript relationships. 85, 34, 71 (43), 48, 35, and 39 are closely associated with 25; 11, and 81 are intimately connected; they also show relationship with the X tradition, especially that of 25. 32 goes with the tradition of 28. Many of the codices reveal the influence of Y upon the tradition as represented by 25 (second hand). This conflation includes more specifically 25 (second hand), 33, 34, 39, 67, and 70, besides all the codices of group Z.⁷

TENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

15; 5; 44; 101; 69; 72; 53; 18; 19; 23, cf. 24; 24, cf. 23; 29; 33; 102; 93.

Besides the manuscripts that tend to fall into groups X and Y there is a considerable group of texts that is almost distinctive enough to form a class by itself to be called Z. They are *Parisinus* 8318 — 22; *Parisinus* 8319 — 23 with its complement *Parisinus* 8320 — 24; *Dresdensis* 199 A, (S. IX) — 43 with its complement, *Londinensis* (*British Museum*) 18363 (S. IX) — 71; *Gothanus* 115 (S. IX) — 48; *Monacensis* 19451 — 53; *Treuericus* 1093/1469, (S. XI) — 61; *Vaticanus*, *Pal. Lat.* 1716 — 93 and *Einsidlensis* 302 — 101. Thus they read *veteris dudum* [71 defective] (i, 129) for the *dudum vetus* of the rest of the texts (81 and possibly 32 read *dudum veteris* [first hand]); they read *beati* (i, 433) for the *beato* of X, and Y (35, 17, and 101 have *ti* as a correction, probably); they (43, *prescia*) have *plurima* [22 defective] (ii, 745) for the *prescia* of X and Y, and the *templa* of 25 (> *tampia* > *prescia*), the *prepia*, (probably) of 34,

⁷ *Infra*.

the $T::pia > \bar{p}pia$ of 17 and the $\bar{p}ia$ of 85. They read *acta* [22 defective] (ii, 932) for the *aucta* of X and *victa* of Y (20 *aucta*); they read *refocans* [22 and 48 defective] (ii, 1187) for the *religans* of X, *relocans* of 25, and *relegans* of Y; 24 and 43 have *relegans* (second hand), probably from *refocans* or from *revocans*, the second hand of 53. This confusion of *f*, *l*, and *v* in *relocans* of 25, read *refocans* and *revocans* (second hand) by 53, seems to confirm some earlier affinity. Other readings characteristic of this group tend likewise to associate it with the tradition of 25. Thus 48 and its associates [22 defective] with 34 and 85 have *convenerat* [34 *co venerat*] (ii, 623) for the *converterat* of X and Y (32 and 15 *conscenderat*: 43 *converterat*); they have with 25 *ire* (ii, 917) for the *esse* of X and Y; with 25 they read (22, 48 and 28 defective) *facta* [23 *furta* in *ras*?] (ii, 1201) for the *furta* of X and Y.

GOTHANUS 115 — 48 especially tends to derive from the traditions represented by 25 and by 25 second hand (Y). Of some one hundred and fifty more significant variants 48 has either one or the other of the readings of 25 (34 where 25 is defective) in almost every case, agreeing with the first hand of 25. The most important exception is *vitam . . . via* (i, 503), the reading of 48 for *vitae . . . viam* of both X and Y. Here the scribe may have thought the preposition *ad*, just preceding *vitam*, demanded an accusative. Agreement in error puts 48 with 25 in instances such as that of *coire* (ii, 491), the reading of 25 and 48 for *coiere*; or again in readings such as that of *venientibus* (ii, 545), the reading of 25 (*aent > ent*), 34 (first hand), and 48, for *manantibus*; *edendi* (ii, 1151), the reading of 25, 34, and 48 for *edenti*. 48 has the lines ii, 863, 882, and 1107 found in the second hand of 25 and 34. These data seem to show an inner relationship for the manuscripts involved and at the same time to associate them especially with 25 and its associates. The relative freedom of these manuscripts from the multitudinous errors of 25 shows that their scribes had profited by the careful recension of the later ninth century.

The suprascriptio of the *Epistola ad Florianum* confirms the existence of 48 *et al.* as a sub-class. All the members of this group that have the suprascriptio, to wit, 53, 61, 71, 93, 96, and 101, omit *salutem*. They also omit the *explicit*. Those that have the *Beato Petro*, to wit, 53, 93, and 101, omit line one, beginning *In nomine*

Patris; they read *et* (l. 3) for *atque*; *mar* (l. 18) for *mai*; *post* (53, 101, read *post* by 93) *basilio* (l. 19) for *post consulatum Basilii* (or *Basilicum*); they omit *subdiacono* (l. 13); they have the shorter version ending with *septima*. They, including 61, are among the few codices that have the *Versibus Egregiis*.

Other texts of the tenth century show intimate relationships.

ETONENSIS 150 (DEF. AB LIB. I, 542) — 69, S. X—S. XI belongs with 25 as adjusted to Y. It reads *cuncta* (i, 509) with 20, 16 (first hand) for *culta*; *antra* (i, 520) with 16 and 34 for the *atra* of 85 and 48, or the *astra* of 28; *fulsere* (i, 370) with Y and 34 for the *stetere* of X. With 25 (second hand), 67, 70, 48, and 34 it has *Lib. i, 311* which is omitted in both 16 and 28 (first hand). Agreement in significant errors associates 69 with a small group, to wit, 11, 81, 17, 26. Thus 11 has *esse catervis vivere turmis* (i, 383) for the *esse catervis* of 28; 81 has *esse catervis* followed by an erasure of two words, the last of which ended in *mis*; 17, 26, and 69 all have *vivere turmis* without the *esse catervis* of the regular reading.

AUGIENSIS 206, a Baden fragment, and 85 have many points of resemblance; *redit* (i, 15) for *reddit*; *potiturus* (i, 27) for *petiturus*; *creans* (i, 340) for *creas*; *segnis* (i, 366) for *signis*; *menstrua* for *mens tua* (i, 411); *pollulat* (i, 424) for *pullulat*.

BRUXELLENSIS 185 — 5 AND VALENTIANENSIS 412 (393 BIS) — 40, S. XI have several readings that look toward a common origin: *in caelis* (i, 38) for *excelsis*; *servans* (ii, 477) for *servat*; *servantis* (ii, 685), read *parcentis* by 40 but glossed *servantis*; *opus* (ii, 968) for *onus*; *aggere* [5 second hand] (ii, 1079) for *aere*; and *ferens* [5 second hand] (ii, 1087) for *libet* (refert). Likewise 5 may have some cross relationship with 15; both read *commune cum Juda* (i, 446) for *cum Juda commune*; *vultu* (ii, 342) for *cultu*; *servans* (ii, 477) for *servat*.

LONDINENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM), HARLEIANUS 3072 — 72 agrees with 73, reading *turbis* > *verbis* (i, 153) for *verbis*; *hac ipsa* (i, 885) for the *hac tandem* of Migne, *hac eadem*, 28; *prodest* (ii, 268) for *cana*; *in orbe* (ii, 554) for *ubique*. 72, also like 73, has points of contact with *Parisinus* 13336 — 29, reading *turbis* for *verbis* and *hac ipsa* for the *hac tandem* of 67 or the *hac eadem* of 28. 72 and 29 agree in reading: *defecta* [29 > *defleta*] (i, 171) for *defleta*; *in illos spiratus*

(i, 222) for *spiratus in illos*; *fluxere* [29 > *stetere*] (i, 370) for *fulsere*; *causis* (i, 740) for *clausis*; *prius* (i, 891) for *pius*. Again, 72 agrees with 21; both read *ero semper* (ii, 837) for *semper ero*; both omit *est* (ii, 897).

LONDINENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM), HARLEIANUS 3093 — 73 and PARISINUS 17905 — 33 agree in several readings. 73 and 33 have *paritura tumult* [33 *timuit*] (i, 66) for *tumult paritura*; *virum* [29 > *sui*] (i, 728) for *sui*; *prodest* (ii, 268) for *cana*; *in orbe* (ii, 554) for *ubique*; *nam* (ii, 736) for *non*; *hinc* (ii, 1051) for *hic*; *capescens* (ii, 1202) for *capessens*. Likewise Parisinus 16700 — 32 reads *virum*. 73 has further contact with 32 having *vapores* (i, 144) for *tepores*; *discere* (ii, 1043) for *dicere* and *vitabat* (ii, 1059) for *vitavit*.

MAZARINUS 3862 — 36, S. XI *ex.* ties up with Parisinus 8096 — 21. Both read *iubet fatetur* (ii, 648) for *fatetur*.

MONACENSIS 19451 — 53 and SANGALLENSIS 336 — 102 agree with 67 in having replaced *saevior hoste libido* (ii, 279) with the observation of some commentator, *fornicatio rursus*. LONDINENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM) 11034 — 70 probably belongs with this trio, for it has the correct reading but in a different hand from the surrounding text. Again, 53 has a contact with 40, omitting *pergas* (ii, 903); both read *aeris ut* (i, 89) for *aeris in*.

PARISINUS 8092 — 19 falls in with 25, having *subtrahat* (ii, 332) along with 25, 34 (almost surely), and 48.

PARISINUS 8318 — 22 besides its wider contact with group Z⁸ agrees with 43 and 40 in reading *succurre* (ii, 325) for *succurrere*. Parisinus 11330 — 27 agrees with this group in several readings. With 48, 22, and 40 it has *Petri meruit* (i, 834) for *meruit Petri*; with 22 it reads *ex gemino* (ii, 545) for *gemino*; and with 40 *nullae* (ii, 634) for *nullaeque*.

PARISINUS 17905 — 33 matches 32 in several readings. Both have *intus* (i, 377) for *unus*; *servando* (i, 564) for *servabo*; *fecit Petrus* (i, 624) for *Petrus facit*; and *virum* (i, 728) for *sui*; *pupe* (i, 996) for *puppe*. 33 seems to have some relation to Parisinus 8320 — 24 (i.e. 23) if we may judge from the fact that both have *mobile marmor* (ii, 1070) for *mite quid umquam*. 33 shows one striking association

⁸ See *supra* p. 106.

with *Reginensis* 300 — 96; both read *eptaticus qui dicit* (i, 692) for *omnipotens taedarum*. 33 also has two special readings in agreement with 18, a fragment of only four pages. The readings are *prima* (ii, 823) for *trina* and *est nunc* (ii, 808) for *nunc est*.

VOSSIANUS Q.72 — 80 has special contacts with several manuscripts. With 28, 32 and 67 it reads *meritum decuit causasque* (ii, 714) for *decuit causas meritumque*. With 25 it has *cruet* (ii, 477) for *cruciet*; with 96 it reads *pietate* (i, 970) for *bonitate*; with 61 it has *principium vitae* (i, 592) for *vitae principium*, and *iam* (ii, 1041) for *rogo*.

At this point we may pause to see what bearing the chapter headings, *capitula*, found here and there throughout the text of most of the manuscripts, and the *tituli*, tables of contents, may have on the text tradition. An earlier study⁹ had noted a decided tendency for the readings of the *capitula* and *tituli* to indicate two classes. Such exceptions as obtain do not indicate a third tradition. Some twenty codices were used in this former study. The classes as determined were:

Group X (X and Y) ¹⁰		Group Y (25 <i>et al.</i>)	
Aurelianus	295 16 ¹⁰	Einsidlensis	302 . . . 101 ¹⁰
Parisinus	8095 20	Monacensis	19451 53
"	12284 28	Parisinus	9347 25
"	16700 32	"	18554 34
"	17905 33	"	18555 35
Vossianus	F.12 78	Reginensis	300 96
		Valentianensis	412 40
		Sangallensis	336 . . . 102
		Trevericus	1093/1469 . . 61
		Vossianus	Q.15 79
		"	Q.86 81
		Vaticanus Pal. Lat.	1716 93

It will be noticed that as with the variants of the regular text there are two classes. But here the X and Y groups of the present study stem together and the 25 tradition becomes a main class. The explanation¹¹ of this seems to be that the earlier manuscripts all had

⁹ "Studies in Arator I. The manuscript tradition of the Capitula and Tituli," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIII (1932).

¹⁰ The items as indicated refer to the number used in the present study.

¹¹ As has been shown in the earlier study (*op. cit.*, p. 145).

a more or less consistent text for the *capitula* and *tituli* and then that in the latter part of the ninth century a somewhat thorough redaction was made down through the early part of the second book of the *De Act. Ap.* 43, 24 (23), and 80 were not classified in the former study; for the first two have no *tituli* or *capitula* and the last has them in the second hand. The observer will note that as in the text itself so here 32 and 33 have cross contacts with 28. The former study showed a sub-group composed of 34, 35, 79, and 81. 78 as we should expect falls in with its complement 16.

Later acquisition of photostats made a further study¹² possible. This was carried through by Miss Irene Sophia Peterson (Mrs. Hutchinson). Mrs. Hutchinson found two traditions in the main; though there are marked variants, they do not appear often enough to suggest a third family. Several manuscripts are ruled out as not offering sufficient evidence for drawing conclusions. They lack the *capitula* and (or) the *tituli*; or what they have is in a second hand. Some are too fragmentary to furnish useful evidence. Such codices are: 72, 71, 48, 14, 18, 19 (second hand), 22 (*capitula* second hand), 23, 27, 29 (second hand), 36, 39 (glosses), 80. The remaining codices Mrs. Hutchinson placed as follows:

Group X		Group Y	
Cantabrigiensis B.	14.3 67	Harleianus	3072 72
Aurelianensis 80 15	British Museum	11034 70
		Bruxellensis	185 5
		Etonensis	150 69
		Carnotensis	70 11
		Parisinus	2773 17
		"	8096 21
		"	11329 26

Of group Y Mrs. Hutchinson, confirming the same situation in the text itself, reports that 21 and 26 shift between Y and X; the *tituli* put 26 in group Y. Likewise 5 is planetary, the only case of a text not fitting in with the scheme as it has developed. These later manu-

¹² Those interested may have access to a copy of the monograph, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Capitula and Tituli of Arator*, in manuscript, by addressing the librarian of the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

scripts have a good many new readings but nothing consistent enough to indicate another tradition.

It is to be noticed that as with 16 and 78 so with 11 it falls into the same class as 79, its complement. Mrs. Hutchinson's researches confirm the findings of the earlier study that there are indications of a redaction being made in the latter part of the ninth century. This recension seems to have been through *Lib. i* and on into *Lib. ii* for several hundred lines. Thereafter there are more variant readings though with little indication of consistent traditions. This is true of the text itself, which has nearly twice as many variants from the second third of *Lib. ii* as in an equal number of earlier lines.

Besides the manuscripts that have been collated word by word and studied from such confirmatory material as the incipits, explicits, suprascriptions, capitula, tituli, etc., covering practically all of the ninth and tenth century manuscripts, there are two score or more other monuments of Arator from the eleventh to the fourteenth century that have come into the study. Thanks to the kindness of their curators I have seen all of these in their respective libraries. I undertook to collate the most noticeable of the moot readings of our text, such as:

Lib. i.

- 50 *praegressa magos*, read *progressa magos* by X, *progressa magis* by Y.
- 370 *fulsere* (most mss.), read *fluxere* by 5, *stetere* by 28.
- 503 *vitam . . . viae*, Z, read *ad vitae . . . viam* by 53, *vitae . . . viam* by X and Y.
- 520 *antra*, Y (16), read *atra* by 20, *astra* by X (28).
- 543 *tenebras*, X and Y, read *latebras* by 34 and 85.
- 590 *patentibus*, Migne, read *parantibus* by Y, *parentibus* by X.
- 673 *celebrare* X and Y, read *celerare* by 34 (second hand), 71.
- 681 *lampadis os*, Migne, read *oris cor* by 34, *cor oris* by X and Y.
- 692 *omnipotens taedarum*, X and Y, read *eptaticus tedarum* by 32.
- 877 *orbis*, 48, read *oris* by most mss.

Lib. ii.

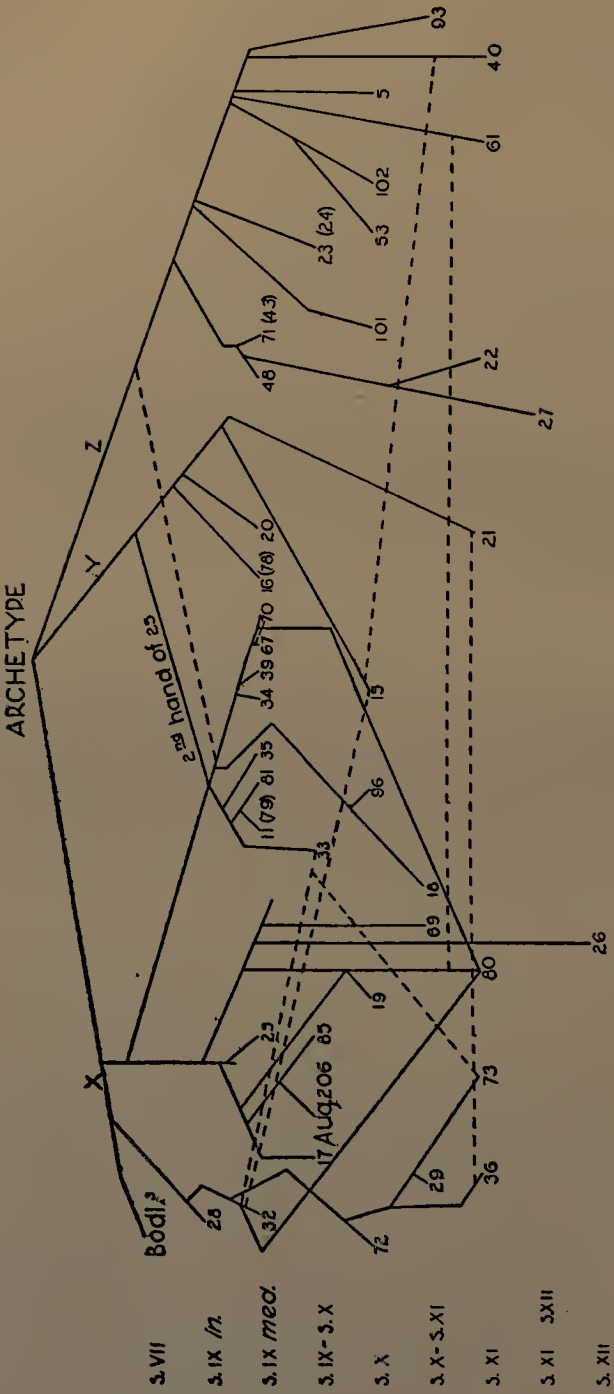
- 77 *nasci*, X and Y, read *nosci* by 34 and 85.
- 141 *compellor*, read *convenior* by most mss.
- 366 *nobilis* (25 second hand), read *noverit* by X and Y.
- 370 *iuvat*, most mss., read *iubet* by 11, 81, 16.
- 429 *nacturus*, X, read *tacturus* by Y and 25.
- 461 *poetae*, X and Y, read *prophetæ* by 35 *et al.*

- 468 *timoris*, 25, read *timori est* by X and Y.
 530 *senio*, Y, read *senior* by X.
 533 *ingerit*, X and Y, read *inserit* by 25.
 538 *mundanda*, read *purganda* by nearly all mss.
 545 *manantibus*, Y (16, second hand), read *venientibus* by 25, *manentibus* by X.
 565 *hospes*, X and Y, read *hostis* by 25.
 613 *fonte*, X and 20, read *forte* by 16 and 25.
 631 *oblata*, Y, read *ablata* by X and 25, *allata* by 43 *et al.*
 636 *turba* 32, read *turbo* by X and Y.
 670 *aera*, X and 20, read *aethera* by 16 and 43.
 683 *depressa*, Y, read *depressa* by X.
 752 *serit*, X and Z, read *gerit* by Y.
 804 *primae*, X and 78 (complement of 16), read *primo* by 20.
 831 *dilecta*, X and Z, read *delecta* by Y.
 1087 *libet*, 67, read *refert* by X and Y.
 1097 *victi*, Z, read *vecti* by X and Y.
 1187 *relegans*, Y, read *refocans* by 48 *et al.*, *religans* by X.

If it were necessary to present here the complete collation of the variants from the late manuscripts the first thing to be noticed would be that they contribute nothing to the text. In practically every instance they have one of the familiar readings. The only exceptions are the reading of *cōmonere* for *compellor* (*convenior*) (ii. 141) by 59; of *mortale* for *non stare* (ii. 276) by 50; of *pectoris* for *nobilis* (ii. 366) by 84 and *mo^c* by 99; of *ferre* for *fonte* (ii. 613) by 12; of *ferit* for *serit* (ii. 752) by 99 or *fert* by 90.

Such variant readings are negligible. Occasionally a unique reading of an earlier text finds favor with a later scribe. Thus 47 has the *ait* of 17 for *alit* (i. 196); 1, 6, 10, and 77 have the *ferens* of 102 for *libet* (ii. 1087); 30 and 68 the *placet* read as a gloss by 67 and 39 for the same reading. The same may be said of 91 for its agreement with 85 in having *vergentibus* for the *venientibus* of 25 (ii. 545). Such agreements indicate a close relationship between codices but are too few for dogmatizing. The evidence at hand does not indicate any possibility of assigning these later mss. generally to definite classes; both X and Y readings appear more or less promiscuously with a tendency for the Y readings to take the field, as has been the case of the earlier mss., from the latter part of the ninth century.

By way of summary, the preceding correlation of material seems to



- S. VII
- S. IX in
- S. IX med.
- S. IX - S. X
- S. X
- S. X - S. XI
- S. XI
- S. XI S. XII
- S. XII

show that in the main there are only two readings, aside from mere slips, found for any given variant. This in general posits two classes, X and Y. Group X has a tendency to a slight divergence as seen in Bodl.³, 28 and 25. Lastly, there is the third class Z that has a considerable independence of tradition closely incorporated with X and Y. These conflations coming to a head in the latter part of the ninth century tend to give a pretty consistent text from that time on. At least practically nothing in the way of new readings that develop into a real tradition materializes. The diagram on page 114 will help to clarify the intricacies of these relationships.

The groups accordingly line up somewhat as follows:

Group X: Bodl.³; 28, 32, 72, 29, and 73; 25, 19, 85, Aug. 206, 17, 29; 34, 39, 70, 67, 18, 96 (with much conflation with Y).

Group Y: 15, 16, 20, and 21 (often seen in the second hand readings of 25 *et al.*, and the resulting conflation).

Group Z: 61, 93, 23 (24), 48, 43 (71), 22, 53, 101 (with much conflation with Y).

Besides, 11, 81, 26, 33, 35, and 80 show a strong leaning toward X.

21 is allied to 72; 36 to 21; 73 to 33; 61 to 80; 18 and 96 to 33; 27 to 48; 40 to 43 and 53; 67 to 70; and 102 to 53.

SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE
OF PH.D., 1942-1943

GIACINTO MATTEUCIG — *Poggio Buco: the Necropolis of Statonia*¹

POGGIO BUCO, the necropolis of Statonia, is located on a plateau on the right bank of the river Fiora, 25 miles north-east of Vulci. The first systematic excavations on the site were conducted by R. Mancinelli, a painter and antiquarian from Orvieto, in 1896-97. The material from the necropolis has never been adequately published; part of it is preserved in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, the deposits of six tombs are in the Berlin Museum, and the material of one tomb is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The deposits of seven tombs in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California, which are the subject of this dissertation, form the largest collection from *Poggio Buco* outside Italy. These seven tombs show a gradual development from the simplest type of trench tombs, *tombe a fossa*, to the more elaborate chamber tombs, *tombe a camera*. The 300 vases in the collection, though not all masterpieces of ceramic art, constitute a very representative series which illustrates the most important types of pottery found in Etruria. According to their technique these vases fall within six groups: Impasto, Buccero, Italo-Geometric, Protocorinthian, Italo-Protocorinthian, and Italo-Corinthian. They are described in the catalogue, which is intended, primarily, to be a *Corpus Vasorum*, since it is the pottery found at *Poggio Buco* that forms the basis for the discussion of chronology, outside influences, and commercial relations. The vases are, therefore, described in detail and parallel material is introduced in the *comparanda*. Objects other than pottery are briefly commented upon in order to present a more complete picture of the *Poggio Buco* collection. The geographical distribution of the vase-shapes and ornaments is considered in a special chapter.

The cultural history of *Poggio Buco*, Statonia, in the archaic period, ca. 700-550 B.C., may be divided into three phases. The first phase is

¹ Degree in Classical Archaeology.

characterized by the simplest types of trench tombs, by impasto vases with geometric designs, and by Italo-Geometric pottery. The second, 'Early Orientalizing, phase shows a more developed type of trench tombs and is characterized by Protocorinthian-Geometric imports and by imitations of Protocorinthian. The third, Ripe Orientalizing, phase is characterized by the first appearance of fine bucchero, by Early, Middle, and Late Corinthian, and by heavy bucchero. These three phases correspond to Pallottino's II, III, and IV cultural *facies* of Archaic Etruria. The archaeological evidence examined in this thesis reveals that in the VII, and in the first half of the VI century B.C., Statonia was part of a closely-knit cultural unit which had its focus at Vulci. Within this unit, Statonia was a peripheral point, rather than a center; an outpost, culturally, and to some extent, economically dependent on the nearby metropolis. Its geographical position, however, made it an important military station for the protection of the river road to Vulci. A peripheral point in the cultural unit focusing at Vulci, Statonia was in its turn the innovating center as regards the minor inland communities along the Fiora and its tributaries. The town, *natura loci munitissimus*, was fortified by an *arx* and by a strong wall the estimated perimeter of which was 3 kms., with an area twice that of modern Pitigliano. The terracotta revetments from its temple, which are among the most ancient specimens of fictile decoration discovered in Etruria, and the consistently large tomb deposits of the necropolis suggest that it was the most important town of the district. Even though provincial, Statonia was a very enterprising community. Italo-Geometric pottery, a curiously brief phase at *Poggio Buco*, points at the first contact of the town with the outside world. With the beginning of the Late Protocorinthian period, commercial relations with Greece and the Eastern Aegean show a steady increase and assume primary importance. In the later tombs, imitations of foreign products outnumber the local pottery types. It is very likely that Statonia secured these products through Vulci which must have been the terminus of direct trade routes with Greece and its Southern Italian colonies. As their contribution to artistic achievement, the artisans of Statonia developed a very fine technique of impasto with geometric decorations, and their technically perfect brown impasto vases with incised and lami-

nated ornaments were probably exported to the neighboring communities of inland Southern Etruria, perhaps as far as Chiusi. After the second half of the VI century B.C., for reasons still unknown in their details, but having their roots in social and political decline, the population of Statonia underwent a steady decrease and the town almost completely faded out of the picture. After the fall of Vulci to the Romans, ca. 290 B.C., Statonia was made a *praefectura* as a *civitas sine suffragio*. It became one of the many Etruscan *πολίχναι συχναί* described by Strabo, but did not achieve again the social importance enjoyed in the archaic period.

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